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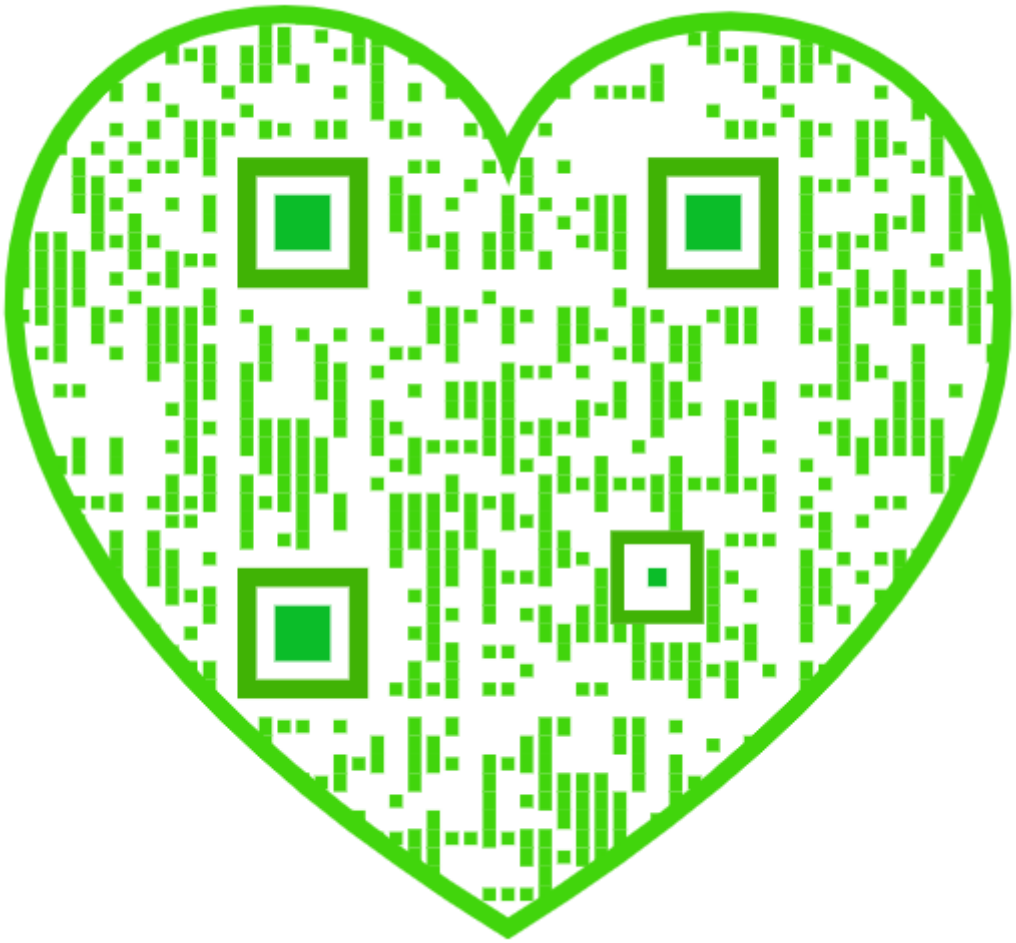

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AMERICAN JOURNALISM is now soliciting manuscripts. Scholars are asked to follow the *MLA Handbook* on matters of documentation and to submit a bibliography as well as footnotes. Three copies of a manuscript, along with a stamped envelope addressed to the author (SASE), should be mailed to the editor, Gary Whitby, at the following address: AMERICAN JOURNALISM, Dept. of English & Journalism, University of Central Arkansas, Conway, AR 72032.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

This is the first issue of *American Journalism*, the publication of the American Journalism Historians Association, founded in the fall of 1982. The organization and journal originated from a perception among journalism scholars that, despite the excellent work done by *Journalism History*, as well as a few quasi-historical journals of communication, there were insufficient outlets for those interested in doing research in press history. Following tabulation of the results of a letter of inquiry, this perception was validated by an overwhelming percentage of respondents who said that they would welcome another organization and journal.

A number of those persons are represented, in one capacity or another, in the current issue. It will be seen that they represent a wide geographic area and a variety of academic institutions. It will be seen, too, that most, if not all, of them are also members of AEJMC. This suggests the probable mutual desire of members of both organizations for association and interaction, not competition. Indeed, the members of the AJHA generally recognize and acknowledge the overarching position and authority of the AEJMC.

The general focus of *American Journalism* is on the historical relationship between communication and culture in the United States, especially as this relationship has been affected by such areas as economics, philosophy, politics, literature, sociology, and law. Although the journal is primarily qualitative in orientation and method, the editors welcome qualitative studies containing quantification as a methodology. The editors also welcome book reviews as well as articles devoted to broadcast journalism. It should be noted, too, that the title *American Journalism* is intended to include international influences on American media.

This issue contains studies that should be of interest to a wide spectrum of journalism historians. Linda Steiner's "Finding Community in Nineteenth-Century Suffrage Periodicals" analyzes the role played by periodicals "in sustaining and solidifying" a sense of community among those in the woman's suffrage movement in nineteenth-century America.

Mary S. Mander's "American Correspondents During World War II" documents the imagination and manners exhibited by journalists covering the Second World War. Mander isolates and analyzes four characteristics of the common-sense approach to the world: homely wisdom, reductiveness, practicality, and realism.

Frank Krompak's "A Wider Niche for Westbrook Pegler" presents Pegler's "virtually ignored" side—his work as a humorist—and compares him to H. L. Mencken, Damon Runyon, and Ring Lardner. Krompak includes numerous examples of "Peglerian humor," from mock outrage and character types to satiric poetry.

Lewis Gould's "First Ladies and the Press: Bess Truman to Lady Bird Johnson" briefly presents the interaction between each of the first ladies and the press corps and compares the style of each first lady in dealing with the press to that of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Maurine Beasley's "A 'Front Page Girl' Covers the Lindbergh Kidnaping: An Ethical Dilemma" examines Lorena A. Hickok's coverage of the Lindbergh kidnaping case and what Hickok perceived to be her ethical "responsibility for newsgathering in an era of gross sensationalism." Beasley also raises final questions unresolved today: What is the public interest in crime stories, and is it to be informed at the price of ignoring the plight of innocent victims?

Finally, Anne Messerly Cooper's "Suffrage as News: Ten Dailies' Coverage of the Nineteenth Amendment" examines national coverage of the woman's suffrage movement and the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment, concentrating on the tone of, and the prominence given to, the movement and the amendment.

Gary Whitby

DEDICATORY STATEMENT

This issue of *American Journalism* is respectfully dedicated to Dr. Jefferson Farris, President of the University of Central Arkansas, in gratitude for his support and encouragement.

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Finding Community In Nineteenth Century Suffrage Periodicals

LINDA STEINER

For most sociologists as well as journalism historians, the term *community* is inherently ecological. It implies a physical concentration of people who are spatially delimited. In this view, although territory is not a sufficient condition for community, it is necessary.[1] An alternative conceptualization uses the term to designate groups situated normatively, in sentiment. Representative here is William Goode's discussion of professions as communities, in that the limits and definitions of membership are social, not geographic. Members, he says, are bound by a sense of identity, shared values, and, at least within areas of communal action, a common language.[2]

This study extends the tradition which Goode represents to an analysis of the importance of periodicals in sustaining and solidifying the nineteenth century woman's suffrage community as such in America. The study will show how newspapers and journals produced by woman suffragists helped women locate themselves in an exciting but entirely plausible community and find there a sense of significance and meaningfulness.

Suffragists did not use the word *community*, preferring, instead, terms like *sisterhood* and *sorority*. Through specialized periodicals, the suffrage movement achieved the defining processes and characteristic "spirit" of community. Suffragists professed common goals and shared interests; they saw themselves, both as women and as suffragists, as bound up in a common fate. They participated in cooperative activity. They self-consciously emphasized interdependence and, therefore, loyalty, commitment, and even *esprit de corps*.

Most importantly, suffragists explicitly and proudly defined themselves in terms of their affiliation.

After a brief review of the suffrage movement and the specific periodicals to be examined here, this study will discuss how early suffrage papers identified, legitimized, and sustained a community of *new woman.* Then the paper will describe how competing versions of this new woman—again, necessarily articulated in suffrage periodicals—divided the suffrage community into at least two factions, each with distinctive world views.

Historical Overview

The lives of mid-nineteenth century middle-class women were dramatically changed, but not necessarily enriched, by developments in technology, in the economy, in politics, and in American culture generally. In reading the papers of the suffrage movement, these otherwise isolated and frustrated women discovered both the dramatization of a life style which gave coherence and meaning to their lives, as well as the means by which to argue for the legitimacy and value of that style. Specifically, suffragists argued that *the new woman* deserved prestige and respect and that the constitutional amendment enfranchising women would unambiguously and nationally symbolize the desired status. In July, 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton read her Declaration of Principles, with its controversial demand for suffrage, to the first Women's Rights Convention, meeting in Seneca Falls, New York; the Nineteenth Amendment, enfranchising women, was finally ratified in 1920.

As we shall see, woman suffragists, as have many other political and social reform groups in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, quickly recognized the crucial significance of newspapers in advocating their cause and cultivating group identification. *The Lily,* the first suffrage paper, was founded by Amelia Bloomer in Seneca Falls only six months after the Woman's Rights Convention there. Between 1849 and 1920, literally dozens of periodicals were published, many aiming at a national circulation; most of them were not well funded (and perhaps for that reason were short-lived), but others enjoyed ample support and long careers.

Among the other early suffrage papers to be mentioned here are *Genius of Liberty,* published in Cincinnati between 1851 and 1853, and edited by Elizabeth Aldrich; and *The Una,* (1853-55), begun in Providence, Rhode Island, by Paulina Wright Davis. The only paper published during the Civil War was *The Mayflower,* an Indiana paper edited by Elizabeth Bunnell Read between 1861 and 1865. The most radical, and among the most notorious, of the suf-

frage journals was *The Revolution*, edited and published in New York City from 1868 to 1870 by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, with an abolitionist friend, Parker Pillsbury. The very birth of *The Revolution* divided suffragists, for it was initially bankrolled by an eccentric outsider, George Francis Train, whose other political interests were inimical to the reform community with which most suffragists were then allied. More importantly, while *Revolution's* vigorous advocacy of a "strong-minded woman" attracted national publicity and converts, it factionalized the nascent suffrage community.

Therefore, a more conservative weekly, *The Woman's Journal*, prescribing a more responsible woman, was established in 1870 in Boston by Lucy Stone, her husband Henry Blackwell, and some of their reform-minded friends, including Julia Ward Howe, William Lloyd Garrison, and T.W. Higginson. Its first editor was Mary Ashton Livermore, who terminated her two-year-old Chicago suffrage paper *The Agitator* so that she could assist her Boston colleagues. *The Woman's Journal* was published until 1931, by which time it was advocating an equal rights amendment.[3]

The suffrage movement survived, especially in its early days, with very little face-to-face contact. Instead, it was sustained by intellectual interaction in the suffrage periodicals. Nonetheless, growth and evolution of the movement still hinged on a national transportation system, so that at least the suffragists' communications could be moved across the country. Indeed, lack of a good transportation and postal system hampered the efforts of several papers, and in at least one case, forced a suffrage editor to give up her paper. In 1854 *The Lily's* publishing home successfully moved to Ohio, where Amelia Bloomer's husband had purchased a local paper. Yet when Dexter Bloomer moved again, this time to Iowa, Amelia admitted, "The Western country is too sparsely settled to make it safe for us to rely upon it to support the papers; and the distance is too great and facilities for carrying mails too insufficient for us to calculate on a large Eastern circulation."[4] Several railroads, however, served the Indiana home of *Lily's* new editor. Having vowed that she would never let man control the paper, Bloomer finally convinced Mary Birdsall, former editor of the woman's department of a local farm paper, to take over; but the style and focus of *The Lily* changed considerably under Birdsall, despite Bloomer's hopes for consistency and continuity.

Although the peculiar irony cannot be examined here in detail, it should also be noted that ultimately innovations in communications and transportation (including efficient mass distribution of print materials) helped disrupt the older and more stable spatially-defined community; and yet these developments simultaneously

provided the means through which people could forge meaningful non-local associations. That is, one might argue that it was the growth of long-distance communications (this in turn linked to complex developments in education, the economy, culture and in the demography of the United States) that broke up the village. So these new communications both forced and sustained construction of a new social order. Furthermore, the inevitable need for *communion* was particularly urgent in America—lacking as it did the traditional authoritative institutions through which social groups might otherwise have defined for themselves a coherent and meaningful identity.

Symbolic Identification With The Suffrage Community

Suffrage papers articulated new values, suggested new dreams, and provided new perspectives on women's experiences, in the effort to evolve a new definition of womanhood and to carve out a new social order. Suffragist Antoinette Blackwell, sister-in-law of suffrage leader-editor Lucy Stone, perceptively called the movement a "dictionary-maker." To set off its language from others, the group's papers generated new definitions, new words. They encouraged women to rename themselves; for if women wanted respect, they should not use their husband's names, diminutives, or pet names. Some papers even challenged women—who otherwise bore no physical signs of membership—to mark their participation symbolically, by adopting a new way of dressing. (Because of Amelia Bloomer's advocacy of "bifurcated trowsers" in *The Lily*, these became known as bloomers.)

Through the papers, these women saw themselves as sharing a unique history and destiny. By rewriting or rediscovering the past and by recasting the present, the newspapers introduced to readers a new set of heroines and martyrs whose coverage, commitment, and personal achievements would inspire others to the same. They taught suffragists how to argue and defend themselves, why to sacrifice, when to renounce. They explained and exhorted. They celebrated both the togetherness of this community and its apartness from larger society.

As the movement became more bureaucratized in the twentieth century, many papers narrowed their focus, concentrating on strategies for winning enfranchisement. But certainly in the nineteenth century, suffrage periodicals defined their interests, broadly, as the suffragists sought to evolve a comprehensive but unique and satisfying world view. Typical of early suffrage editors, Paulina Davis, for example, each month reminded readers that *Una's* concerns

included "The Rights, Relations, Duties, Destiny and Sphere of Woman: Her Education—Literary, Scientific, and Artistic; Her Avocation—Industrial, Commercial, and Professional; Her Interests—Pecuniary, Civil, and Political." Paulina Davis boasted that her "pet child" had reached women who never heard a lecture or attended a convention. "It has been a voice to many who could not have uttered their thoughts through any other channel—and we have abundant evidence that it has been a source of consolation, looked for every month with anxious expectation, to those who are in solitary places."[5]

Paulina Davis was quite correct in referring to women "in solitary places." The suffrage newspapers moved into a new landscape those women who complained that they were politically and economically excluded as well as culturally and socially marginal, both because of their sex generally and because of their commitment to a new life style specifically. Furthermore, because these women were physically isolated in increasingly nuclear households (where their domestic duties seemed to them more decorative than productive), their newspapers were essential in sustaining this nascent community as an effective sociological, cultural, and affective entity.

Particularly for women too far and few between to join local suffrage clubs or attend national conventions, suffrage papers were often the only lines of communication. Besides, as inspiring and useful as the annual conventions were, they were not frequent, convenient, or comprehensive enough to sustain enthusiasm and active commitment year round. Thus, the suffrage journals provided all the services of a geographically identified paper, plus more. They reported on routines and gossip—who said what to whom, where, and when—confirming what was often already known. But they also dramatized major celebrations and ceremonies so that readers at home could feel that they too had participated. Elizabeth Aldrich, editor of the *Genius of Liberty*, said, "We want a common nervous circulation, we want a general excitement, a common sensibility, a universal will, and a concordant action."[6] The suffrage press provided just that.

The papers also served as arenas for collective action. They provided the field on which participants could fight for the legitimacy of their special world. Having articulated and prescribed a new way of being, the papers challenged suffragists to demand the prestige and respect they deserved, in the form of enfranchisement. The papers both advocated suffrage and showed women how to advocate it, with lines of reasoning which, in fact, varied over the years.

Meanwhile, suffrage papers sought to explain the slow and faltering quality of the contest. Typically, they did not so much

soften ridicule as treat it as persecution. To bolster commitment which might have flagged in the face of repeated failures, the papers used religious vocabulary to assure readers that "all important truths are at first rejected, and their ministers despised, persecuted, and often crucified."[7] Missionary "converts" spread the "gospel" by buying subscriptions for those who had not yet seen the truth. In this sense, too, the editors themselves were ministers, delivering their weekly or monthly sermons to a devoted congregation. But if suffrage followers might have preferred that ministerial analogy during moments of rapture, certainly the editors and the movement itself over the long run regarded suffrage editors more as political leaders, as mayors who commanded prestige as well as power, served as role models, steered the population through rough times, represented the community to others, and decided questions of philosophy, policy, and operation. Nearly without exception, suffrage editors or publishers and movement leaders and organizers were one and the same.

Recognition of the Role of Suffrage Papers

Although the papers invariably reflected the personal styles of their individual editors (especially in the early years when each paper was tied more to the personality of its editors than to some overarching organization), papers were regarded not simply as communications *to*, but as communications *of* women. One early editor promised subscribers that the paper "belongs to All; every one will be heard in her own style, principle, and want; 'tis the common property of Woman. . . ."[8] Setting the pattern for subsequent generations of suffrage editors, Amelia Bloomer declared that *The Lily* "is edited and published by Ladies, and to Ladies it will mainly appeal for her support. It is woman that speaks. . . ."[9]

Like many papers "devoted to the Elevation of Woman," *The Una* emerged from the belief that women's political interests would be misunderstood in "Ladies Magazines"; likewise, their concerns would either be "mixed up with others of an opposite and lower character" or buried in ordinary papers.[10] Davis' defense of specialized papers was not immediately accepted, and the national suffrage organization originally denied the suffrage papers both monetary and symbolic support. Jane Gray Swisshelm, who largely ignored the suffrage movement in the course of publishing a spirited political paper (1848-52) called *Saturday Visiter* (sic), explained, "People do not want a whole meal of one dish without sauce, or a whole paper on one subject . . . [W]hen [suffragists] get old enough, they will conclude it is better to reach the public ear

through papers already established and devoted to any number of things, than to get up an auditory of their own."[11]

But, while financing problems plagued both nineteenth and twentieth-century organs, suffragists came to understand that they had better support their special paper, unless, as one Civil War era suffrage editor put it, "those who have toiled and hoped and struggled . . . are now willing to give up the warfare and surrender to irretrievable defeat."[12]

Loyalty and Sisterhood

As in other communities, self-help and self-reliance (at the group level), as well as mutual loyalty among the membership, were crucial. The suffrage press, therefore, defended and applauded sisters for their pioneering courage, for speaking out, for embracing new values and responsibilities. Fiction, poems, editorials, anecdotes, biographies, essays, even advertising, cartoons, and other graphics all presented more or less unambiguous models of sisterhood, which were presumed to be not only central to the philosophy and style of the members but also necessary to their very survival.

Suffragists often debated whether (or to what extent) they could criticize one another as well as non-suffrage women. Consensus and unanimity were only rarely achieved. But most of them admitted that popular theory held that jealousy and backbiting would stymie women's reform efforts. Elizabeth Aldrich complained, "As a class we have been uncollected, unmarshalled, and destitute of a cementing spirit; no general duty has awakened us; no common effort has ever brought us together."[13] Suffrage papers provided that cement and also tested its durability. The papers also promoted solidarity by example. Certainly one important sign of loyalty was that suffrage papers themselves were managed, owned, produced, and even distributed by women and that their contents addressed women's sex-specific interests, noted women's accomplishments, and even advertised women's (but especially suffrage) products. Suffrage editors wishing to retire went to great pains to find like-minded colleagues to take over; when that was impossible, subscription lists were given to other suffrage papers. Again, this partly reflected a concern that, by definition, outsiders could not properly espouse or even describe the movement. It also symbolized trust in, and respect for, the sorority and its collective abilities.

This pattern began with the earliest suffrage paper. *The Lily* emerged from the resentment of Seneca Falls temperance ladies

that, while they could finance and attend temperance lectures, "such a thing as their having anything to say or do further than this was not thought of."[14] Soon after issuing a prospectus for the paper, the temperance society abandoned the project. Nonetheless, said Amelia Bloomer, "to save the credit of our sex and preserve our own honor, we breasted the storm."[15] The principle that members of a community should themselves produce their papers was first tested for suffragists when the men who printed both *The Lily* and a reform-minded paper edited by Amelia's husband Dexter refused to help a woman whom Amelia had hired as a typesetter. The Bloomers fired the uncooperative printers, noting that the resulting problems were "nothing compared with what had been gained on the side of justice and right. . . ."[16]

Each suffrage paper regularly reported the successes and problems of other papers edited by women; this national exchange both encouraged and prodded suffrage editors, availing what they described as "spiritual communion." In its final issue (December 15, 1856), *Lily* noted, "When one woman strikes a blow for the elevation of her sex, it redounds to the interests of the whole; and wherever one fails in her purposed plans all feel the calamity and contend against increased odds in maintaining their individual enterprise. We are bound together." Indeed, women editing and publishing newspapers formed their own sub-community. One Vermont editor said that Bloomer and few other woman editors "contribute largely to our social and intellectual enjoyment and our ability to do and dare for the cause of humanity. . . . Though necessarily cut off by our avocations from the usual social intercourse of villages and neighborhoods, with such and so many associates as our exchanges furnish, we feel no vacuum in our sympathies—are conscious of no social privations."[17]

More important were the frequently published testaments to the solidarity nourished among readers. In reading the papers, audience members no longer felt alone. They felt stronger and surer, part of a larger and more significant world. The papers both cultivated community pride and were sources of pride. Among those claiming to have been radically transformed as a result of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's paper, one satisfied customer testified, "Since *The Revolution* has removed the bandages from our eyes and the scales have fallen also, we begin to see women 'as trees walking'. . . ."[18] *A Woman's Journal* reader asked rhetorically but enthusiastically, "Who takes up a copy of the *Woman's Journal* and reads what women are doing all the world over, but feels a glow, a hearty cheer, in looking on the fields where these reapers are toiling. . . . [W]hat Woman's heart is not stirred by the thought of this sisterhood . . . this holy order."[19]

At the same time, the paper provided intimate friends. Glowing descriptions of the activists gave "face" and personality to the names. Readers contributed informal ancedotes, as if chatting over the fence to a neighbor. An Ohio reader of *The Mayflower* wrote editor Lizzie Bunnell, "How dear your little paper has become to me—how it cheers and strengthens me, even as the voice of a friend . . . it seems endowed with almost human sympathy, perhaps because the writers do not write coldly from the head alone, but warm their glowing thoughts by the pure light of a true and earnest purpose that emanates from the heart."[20] Likewise, a *Journal* reader from Michigan wrote, "I read over the names of the brave women till I feel as proud of them as if they were my own sisters and dearest friends."[21]

Symbolic Cleavages within the Suffrage Community

Suffragists regularly disagreed on the particulars of the new woman they sought, and their papers served this factionalization by giving voice to and rationalizing the differing versions of what it was to be a member of the suffrage community. Each group supported its own organ in the effort to make claims for the moral authority of its style and, thereby, attract converts. A classic and early expression of the suffrage community's emerging disunity, and the extent to which this division was played out in the press, is seen in the competition between *The Revolution* and *The Woman's Journal.*

With *The Revolution*, established in 1868 as the brainchild of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the national suffrage movement finally enjoyed a controversial organ comprehensively addressing the issues and problems challenging the community. Ironically, however, this very breadth—as well as *Revolution's* highly politicized and agressive style—polarized suffragists and quickly provoked establishment of a competing suffrage group with its own organ, style, and vision. *Revolution* was not the first suffrage paper to use strong language or to call for martyrdom. Mild-mannered Davis once claimed, "To refuse to consider a cause actively was not simply neutrality, but was to oppose reform and to support the status quo. When the blood-stained heroism of the battlefield demands the homage of our admiration, we must either bravely rebuke the ruffian crime or partake its guilt."[22]

But *Revolution* abandoned flowery philosophical treatises and abstract descriptions of the cause and explicitly extended the conception of the reform community and its interests. *Revolution* agressively and passionately confronted questions of work, co-

education, money and wages, child-rearing, physical exercise, dress reform, marriage, divorce, sexual politics, partisan party politics, participation in and cooperation with other reform movements, including black civil rights, economics, class conflict, and the role of women in religion and in the ministry. In short, it articulated a peculiarly politicized world view by which converts could understand, judge, and act on the very real and problematic issues of the day. *Revolution* not only specifically justified rebellion but also exploited militaristic vocabulary to encourage "soldiers" to "help carry on the war of the *Revolution*." This was indeed different from the dictum of Paulina Davis that "victory won by persuasion and argument is more certain of good results than a triumph wrung from weakness or extorted from fear."[23] The choice of *Revolution's* name was hardly accidental: the time had passed for *Lilys*, *Unas*, and *Mayflowers*.

Revolution's model of and for a community of strong-minded women was often inconsistent; Anthony, Stanton, and their followers reasoned that demonstrating that women could speak out authoritatively was more important than doing so coherently. They never apologized for the fact that members of a newly emerging and evolving community needed to experiment. Each Monday *Revolution* tried out different lines of attack, different rationales, as well as different characterizations of some new style until it found those which were intellectually and emotionally satisfying and effective. Complicating this process, however, was the fact that a larger and not necessarily sympathetic audience also witnessed this highly charged drama. *Revolution's* editors wished to attract and organize a national or even international audience. To the extent that they achieved this "publicity," however, they sacrificed opportunities for private rehearsal, for backstage revisions in script and direction, and for invisible cues and costume changes. Hostile critics gleefully pounced on each indication of inconsistency and discord.

A small group of suffragists admired the "revolutionary" image and tried to live up to the reputation of the new woman who was "strong-minded," energetic, politicized, and aggressive. Some readers congratulated *Revolution's* belligerence, "so different from the namby-pamby milk-and-water journals that dare not publish the truth."[24] A greater percentage of suffragists, however, apparently regarded *Revolution's* strong-minded women as repugnantly unfeminine, if not "mannish," as arrogant and vulgar, if not immoral. Lucy Stone and her followers believed that a more dignified and responsible version of the new woman was not only "better," but also more likely to attract support. Stone was convinced that a suffragist could be courageous and active, yet still be

"a genuine woman, gentle, tender, refined and quiet"; and it was to her that the *Journal* appealed.[25]

The *Journal's* marriage to a Dayton suffrage paper called *The Woman's Advocate* provided an opportunity to express its desire to be somewhat open-minded. "It will be published in the interest of no persons, clique, or locality. It will welcome all friends of Woman Suffrage who are willing to work harmoniously and fraternally with us. . . ."[26] Still, for twenty years, Stone's group, the American Woman Suffrage Association, rejected peace offers from Stanton's faction, the National Woman Suffrage Association. Stone argued that "peace, at the expense of principle, and union, at the sacrifice of individual freedom, are never worth having."[27] The broad-based but fairly conservative *Journal*, begun in 1870, quickly surpassed *Revolution* in subscriptions, advertising, and other forms of support; debt-ridden Anthony sold *Revolution* (for a dollar) soon thereafter.

But if the *Journal* declined to extend the olive branch to competing suffragists (and to some of the causes, such as "fallen women," supported by competing organizations), it did want to attract other new women, as well as men, as converts. Bridge-building was important not only to muster support but also to help members deal with a problematic sense of divided loyalties—for these suffragists were also wives, mothers, friends, and members of other kinds of communities, territorial and affective.

The Revolution had stuck to principle in advocating the cause and seemed to counsel complete renunciation of outside relationships. The *Journal*, while not entirely neglecting the "justice" of enfranchisement, claimed that suffragists' interests were identical to humanity's; it stressed the expediency and social benefit of enfranchisement. The very act of participating in the suffrage movement would morally transform women into one universal community. Julia Ward Howe, whose favorite theme was peace and cooperation, predicted somewhat overly optimistically that now that women had joined hands in working together, "they will not go back from this great union to any small and selfish division. . . . Small envy, petty jealousy, and unfounded dislike will now give way, and women will regard each other with the largeness and liberty of reasonable beings."[28]

"Responsible women's" acceptance of men may also be seen as part of an attempt to integrate this world into a larger one. The *Journal* deplored male hypocrisy, domination, tyranny, and even male chivalry. But editors Blackwell and Higginson demanded men's participation, for "an anti-woman society cannot be reformed by an anti-man affair." In his editorial "Truth Knows No Sex," Blackwell added, "Henceforth let it be understood that the Woman

Suffrage movement is *not* a woman's movement, but a movement of men and women for the common benefit."[29] Except as narrow and temporary protests against exclusively male institutions, all women's institutions (including women's colleges) were criticized. Mocking the idea of lectures for women, Higginson said, "What women need is not a separate repast, however choicely served; they need only their fair share in the daily family dinner."[30]

Still, the *Journal* understood that its responsibility was to spur supporters; dignified good-will and decorum did not themselves rally a community into action. Thus, the *Journal* also indulged in satire; it vented its anger and frustration; it complained and protested. The *Journal* reminded women of the importance of moral determination and self-respect. "Fetters are none the less such, nor do they symbolize any less degraded conditions . . . because, instead of being rough and ragged, they are smooth and wreathed in roses."[31] So, the *Journal*, too, did not simply appease and placate, but roused the community to an indignant sense of itself and its role.

Conclusion

Although the proportionate emphases shifted, the suffrage papers always managed a necessary and crucial double role: they encouraged converts by celebrating their accomplishments and victories, and stirred them, by warning them against apathy and reminding them of continuing oppression. The cultural approach used here, then, shows how suffrage papers persuasively illustrated alternative versions of a satisfying life style for women and brought suffragists into a new and exhilarating world in which their lives had special purpose and meaning. Taken as a whole, it was in the suffrage press that women evolved intellectually and emotionally satisfying communal models for acting, thinking, judging, and feeling. When the Nineteenth Amendment was finally ratified, different factions—some more radical, others more conservative, and each represented by its own organ—claimed credit for the victory. But, clearly, no national movement could have survived, much less succeeded, without the newspapers which dramatized the experiences and visions of the new women and provided the ground on which they could come together as a community.

Notes

[1] Many sociologists claim that using the term "community" to refer to non-geographically based units weakens the term and confuses the issue. This point is made, for example, by Dennis E. Poplin, *Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research* (New York: Macmillan, 1979). Of ninety-four definitions of community, Hillery found that three-quarters agreed on the presence of area and social interaction as necessary elements of community. George A. Hillery Jr., "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," *Rural Sociology*, 20, 1955. See also: Colin Bell and Howard Newboy, *Community Studies* (New York: Praeger, 1974); Roland Warren, *The Community* in America (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963). Without providing a precise definition, Gusfield describes non-territorial communities of relation in Joseph Gusfield, *Community: A Critical Response* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1975).

[2] William J. Goode, "Community Within a Community: The Professions." *American Sociological Review*, 22 (April, 1857), 194-200.

[3] A fuller discussion of these ideal types and of suffrage periodicals is provided in Linda Steiner, "The Woman's Suffrage Press, 1850-1900: A Cultural Study," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana, 1979.

[4] Amelia Bloomer, "Prospectus," *The Lily*, December 1854, p. 181.

[5] Paulina Wright Davis, "To Our Readers," *The Una*, December 1854, pp. 376-77.

[6] Elizabeth Aldrich, "Strength in Union," *Genius of Liberty*, 15 November 1852, p. 12.

[7] "Straws," Editorial, *The Revolution*, 7 May 1868, pp. 280-81.

[8] Elizabeth Aldrich, "The Last Year's Subscribers," *Genius of Liberty*, October 1852, p. 1.

[9] Amelia Bloomer, "The Lily," *The Lily*, 1 November 1849, p. 88.

[10] Paulina Wright Davis, "Special Notice," *The Una*, February 1855, p. 25. (See also December 1854, p. 383.)

[11] Paulina Wright Davis, "Regrets," *The Una*, February 1855, p. 25, quoting Jane Grey Swisshelm, *The Saturday Visiter (sic)*.

[12] Lizzie Bunnell, "Circular," *The Mayflower*, 15 November 1861, p. 168.

[13] Elizabeth Aldrich, "Strength in Union," *Genius of Liberty*, 15 November 1852, p. 12.

[14] Dexter Bloomer, *Life and Writing of Amelia Bloomer* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), p. 40.

[15] *Ibid.* See also *The Lily*, 15 January 1853, p. 2.

[16] Amelia Bloomer, "Why Don't the Lily Come?" *(sic)*, *The Lily*, 15 April 1854, p. 59. Ironically, although *The Revolution* was the paper most insistent on the importance of suffrage papers being managed and operated by women, most critical of suffrage papers which allowed participation by men, and most self-conscious about encouraging women to enter trades, it was itself challenged for not using women printers.

[17] Clarinda Nichols, "Lady Editors," *The Lily*, March 1850, p. 23, reprintd from the *Brattleboro* (Vt.) *Democrat*.

[18] "Papillion," Editorial, *The Revolution*, 29 October 1868, p. 260.

[19] "S.C.H.," "Compensation," *The Woman's Journal*, 28 December 1872, p. 412.

[20] "Letters," *The Mayflower*, 15 November 1861, p. 168.

[21] "Letters," *The Woman's Journal*, 22 January 1870, p. 18.

[22] Paulina Wright Davis, "The Influence of Opinions on the Character," *The Una*, November 1853, pp. 168-69.

[23] Paulina Wright Davis, "Endings and Beginnings," *The Una*, December 1853, p. 182.

[24] "What People Say to Us," *The Revolution*, 29 October 1868, p. 260.

[25] "Letters," *The Woman's Journal*, 29 July 1871, p. 236.

[26] "Marriage," *The Woman's Journal*, 13 August 1870, p. 252.

[27] Hannah Clark, "Union Not Strength," *The Woman's Journal*, 7 January 1871, p. 2.

[28] Julia Ward Howe, "Woman in the Presidential Canvas," *The Woman's Journal*, 13 October 1872, p. 324.

[29] Henry B. Blackwell, "Truth Knows No Sex," *The Woman's Journal*, 28 May 1870, pp. 164-65.

[30] Thomas W. Higginson, "Lectures for Women," *The Woman's Journal*, 14 September 1872, p. 290.

[31] "Lack of Self-Respect," Editorial, *The Woman's Journal*, 14 September 1870, p. 116.

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American Correspondents During World War II: Common Sense As A View Of The World

MARY S. MANDER

As soldiers left the United States for Europe and the Pacific Islands in 1941, sounds of "Blues in the Night" wafted up from the holds of the transport ships.[1] No one was singing "Over There." No one was predicting that the war would be over by Christmas. In the offices of the United Press, Earl Johnson sent out a memo to all bureau managers exhorting them to prepare for a long war.[2] Along with the soldiers went news reporters. By the time the war ended four years later, more than 1600 journalists had been accredited to the army and navy.[3] This paper documents their imaginations and manners, and reports the disposition of their interior lives and the landscapes of their inner selves. As such, it does not approach the history of war correspondence in the tradition of those scholars who have written about journalism history. To do so would be to re-tread already well-covered ground. Rather, its starting point is Vico's *Fantasia* or reconstructive imagination; thus it should be read in terms of cultural history. Following the advice of James W. Carey, this paper seeks to show how action made sense from the standpoint of the actors in the drama.[4]

The hallmark of the imagination and manners of the journalist reporting World War II—the predominant sentiment underlying his view of his job, the things he valued, and his aspirations—was *common sense.* For reasons having to do with technological innovations, by 1941 the grit and resolution of the individual soldier and reporter alike counted for little on the field of battle. Gone were the days of the flamboyant romantic of the nineteenth century; in his place stood the down-to-earth, realistic reporter of modern times.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "common sense" originally referred to an internal sense which functioned as a bond of the five senses. It was the center of all the senses in which various impressions were united in a common consciousness. In the seventeenth century it was used to mean a bond uniting mankind, a feeling of community. Then, in the eighteenth century, a philosophy of common sense was developed in opposition to the works of Berkeley and Hume. According to this common sense school of thought, the ultimate criterion of truth was the primary cognitions of humankind. In other words, the theory of perception rested on the universal belief in the existence of a material world. It was a philosophy used by all men and women to test the truth of knowledge and the morality of their actions. As such, it was remarkably well-suited to the spirit of the times. Despite the variations on the meaning of common sense, ever since the sixteenth century it has also referred to good, sound practical judgment, a combination of tact and readiness in dealing with the everyday affairs of the workaday world. Like irony or romanticism, it is a way of constructing reality.

The *Secret History of the University of Oxford*, in 1726, defined *common sense* as "the ordinary ability to keep ourselves from being imposed upon by gross contradictions, palpable inconsistencies, and unmasked impostures."[5] The definition is all the more interesting given that the correspondents of the Great War, faced daily with contradiction, cross-purposes, and inconsistencies, assumed an ironic stance to cope with their problems.[6] The next generation of war reporters modified the cynicism of their forebears. A generation haunted by the First World War and raised through the Depression, these reporters were trained in "the school of hard knocks." Their reports were not reflections on events but details of the events themselves, a matter-of-fact recording of the scenes before their eyes. The sartorial sloppiness of a Heywood Broun gave way to such shirt-sleeve journalists as Ben Hecht, Eric Sevareid, Ernie Pyle, Richard Tregaskis, and Don Whitehead.

Bill Mauldin's portrayal of the infantry, for example, was both realistic and ironic. His combat men did not fight the Germans by the Marquis of Queensbury's rules; they shot the enemy in the back, blew him up with mines, and killed him in the quickest and most effective way. The philosophy at the heart of this attitude was simply this: If you do not do it to them first, they will do it to you. The GI's language was coarse; his manners rough. He might sum up the assets of a particular general by saying, "His spit don't smell like ice cream either."[7] Like Willie and Joe, he thought the insignia on the shoulders of officers "looked a hell of a lot like chips."[8] But—and this is important—at the same time, he knew that as long as you have an

army, you have officers; and it was a matter of *common sense* to adjust.

Common Sense: Homely Wisdom

As the hallmark of imagination and manners, common sense translated into realism, reductiveness, and homely wisdom. Homely wisdom was not so much a tendency toward the proverbial as it was a "Show me, I'm from Missouri" attitude. It was down-home horse sense, characterized by shrewd and subtle observation. Journalists writing in this vein were distant cousins and kithing kin to such fabulists as Mark Twain and Bret Harte. Some credited their matter-of-fact, levelheaded, unpretentious reportage to the "rigorous downrightness of . . . American journalistic training"[9] and to their small-town upbringings in Indiana, South Dakota, Kansas, and other places across the continent.[10]

Other factors, besides professional training and small-town beginnings, contributed to this vein of reportage. For one thing, the sheer magnitude of the war—in terms of distance and complexity—made it virtually impossible to report it in the older traditions. As late as 1939, when the war broke out in Europe, military leaders in the United States still envisaged a single-front war with its nucleus at a single GHQ (General Headquarters). Nobody thought about mobilizing hundreds of thousands of soldiers in many different theatres. In 1941 the army tried to activate GHQ but realized almost at once that a GHQ was designed for a single-front war and would not do in a global conflict.[11] Unlike World War I, in which there was generally only one fight going on at a time, the battles of the second war were multiple, continual, and occurring in far-flung areas. Unlike World War I, the second war was not one of fixed positions which correspondents could visit on an organized field trip from a centralized GHQ. The fronts changed, sometimes daily. Anyone who wished to report the war firsthand had to go with the troops. That meant reporters had to face hazardous situations, chaos, and confusion.

Moreover, the magnitude of the war and its chaotic and confusing progress were such that reporters often found themselves concentrating on a small group of soldiers or on one particular man. GI Joe was the subject of their reports. Once they chose an ordinary person as the subject of their reports, they had to use the language of the vernacular. Their words were concrete and plain. European towns such as Brucquebec and Isigny were rechristened "Brica-brac" and "Easy Knee." The ideas of correspondents were the ideas of the vernacular hero, the guy with the sense to come in out of the

rain, to stay away from slow horses and fast women, and to avoid putting all his eggs in the same basket.

During the war, Ernie Pyle's column centered on the GI. He loved GI Joe because Joe was honest and dirty and hungry. Pyle liked to take him apart to see what made him tick.[12] His column, written in the first person singular, employed a central consciousness as an angle of vision. Although present in his stories, Pyle was there only as a storyteller, never as a participant. Underlying this emphasis on the individual soldier or civilian was a tacit belief that war was something that happened inside a person. "It happens to one man alone. . . . A thousand ghastly wounds are really only one. A million martyred lives leave an empty place at only one family table."[13]

This tendency toward homely wisdom, then, manifested itself as an attitude of disbelief. Unless a correspondent saw a shell land with his own eyes, he was disinclined to believe it had been fired. His attitude can be traced in part to his small-town upbringing and to his journalistic training. But his report also was affected, at least indirectly, by the sheer magnitude and complexity of the war itself. As soon as the ordinary individual became the subject of a report, the language of the vernacular had to be employed.

Reductiveness

A second characteristic of common sense imagination is reductiveness. Reporters had a knack for taking a situation which had all the elements necessary for high drama and bold adventure and reducing it to size. To put it another way, reporters following a common sense tradition utilized perspective and restraint.

The Normandy landing called forth all kinds of reminders of Pershing's disembarkation on French soil. Pyle's story of a soldier on the Normandy beachhead replaced drama with down-to-earth humor:

> So far as I know, we entered France without anybody making a historic remark about it. Last time, you know, it was "Lafayette, we are here." The nearest I heard to a historic remark was made by an ack-ack gunner, sitting on a mound of earth about two weeks after D-Day, reading the *Stars and Stripes* from London. All of a sudden he said, "Say, where is this Normandy beachhead it talks about in here?" I looked at him closely and saw that he was serious, so I said, "Why, you're sitting on it." And he said, "Well, I'll be damned. I never knowed that."[14]

Similar to Pyle's putting the historic liberation of France into perspective, Turner Catledge of the *New York Times*, on another occasion, put the military in its place. When traveling by air, at the point of disembarkation, troops would witness an officer enter the plane and announce in a loud voice, "You will now leave the aircraft in the order of your rank." Catledge had landed in New Delhi and was standing by the plane's exit, loaded down with heavy bags and other paraphernalia, when the officer made the customary speech. In an equally loud voice, Catledge replied, "I presume that means American taxpayers first" and walked off the plane.[15]

By and large, reporters restored the hard edge of proportion to the events they told about.[16] Convinced that "no catastrophe is so complete that it can quench out life," they exercised dignity and restraint in reporting the tragedies and victories they witnessed.[17] They exacted emotion from the scenes around them instead of infusing those scenes with passion, sentiment, or sensation.

Practicality

A third quality inherent in common sense imagination is practicality. Gone now is all the regalia of Richard Harding Davis. The army was good about providing transportation, but the amount of equipment one had to take to the front made traveling difficult.[18] The solution for reporters—as it was for GI's—was to eliminate everything but the bare necessities. Dress, too, became eminently practical. Dress uniforms were for the rear areas. At the front reporters wore coveralls, with no ties. Being practical meant, in one sense, knowing how to cope. It meant making the best of a difficult situation. The practical reporter knew how to improvise, patch, and fix. He was the one who had learned that a direct question usually got a direct answer. He was a specialist on the "advantages" of different shells. Those that were dropped gave you more warning than those that came straight at you. But, then, those that came straight at you might miss you and keep on going; those that were dropped could kill you even if they did not hit you directly.[19]

One of the contributing elements to this practicality was the sheer physical hardship of life at the front. For the veteran reporters, physical hardship was probably the number one problem they encountered as they endeavored to get the news. It was dangerous and draining work. Not the least of the dangers was the possibility of dying. For war correspondents, covering the war was costly. About fifty were interned in prisoner of war camps; 112 were wounded, and thirty-seven lost their lives, a casualty rate four times that of the military.[20]

Few correspondents remained unmoved when news of the death of a fellow reporter reached them. Barney Darnton of the *New York Times*, long considered the best man in the Pacific Theatre, was killed by a bomb fragment while he was covering the advance troops moving up the northern New Guinea coast. It was with affection that his friends insisted that Darnton was the inspiration for the story of the butler who, when he announced to his mistress that seven journalists had called, said, "Madam, there are six reporters here, and a gentleman from the *Times*."[21]

Many who faced death daily either dismissed the occupational hazard of covering a war or joked about it. Most, however, assumed a matter-of-fact air when they spoke of the possibility of getting hit. "Not getting hit is just plain gambler's luck," wrote Pyle to his wife.[22] But the levelheaded approach to death, the belief that there were worse ways to die, was periodically punctuated by grief at the loss of a friend and fear of having to die. Discussion about death's *possibility* evoked matter-of-fact resignation; the *actual* death of a comrade elicited fear and anguish. Raymond Clapper was killed while covering the invasion of the Marshall Islands. The plane he was aboard collided in mid-air with another. His death devastated Ernie Pyle,[23] with whom Clapper had played poker in the Washington bureau of the United Press.[24]

In one of the bloodiest fights of the war, the Tarawa landing, reporters dug in alongside the military on the beachhead. As they were shoveling out their foxholes, Robert Sherrod, *Saturday Evening Post*, turned to Bill Hipple (AP), and said, "Well, Bill, it hasn't been such a bad life." Hipple replied that he was still too damn young to die. Hipple's remark was not made in jest. It was a simple, straightforward, matter-of-fact assessment of his chances for survival. Both Sherrod and Hipple had little hope that they would survive the night.[25]

Generally, what broke the reporter down most was physical exhaustion and the hardships of primitive living conditions.[26] In Africa, where many correspondents were "broken in," they slept in tents with dirt floors. The wind blew the dirt into everything. They ate cold C rations (even the coffee was cold), bathed in their helments, and slept on the ground with no blankets. Under continuous artillery fire for days and nights, they moved right along with the infantry, including night marches, and were "part of about all the horror of war there is."[27]

In the Pacific Theatre, reporters argued over which island was the most uncomfortable.[28] The difficult conditions of war were enhanced further by the isolation of Pacific atolls, the cramped quarters of navy ships, the unrelenting heat. Each theatre, then, had its own special version of hardship and danger. The Pacific had

its Tarawa; Africa, its Kasserine Pass; Europe, its Normandy beachhead.

The bedfellow of physical exhaustion was monotony and, consequently, emotional exhaustion. After six months or so, one became adjusted to the sights and sounds of warfare, even to the sight of the dead being buried in bloody bed sacks.[29] The emotional fatigue of a hard-hitting campaign was as difficult to deal with as survival under enemy fire:

> It's the perpetual dust choking you, the hard ground wracking your muscles, the snatched food sitting ill on your stomach, the heat, the flies and dirty feet and the constant roar of engines and the perpetual moving, the never sitting down, and the go, go, go, night and day, and on through the night again. Eventually it all works itself into an emotional tapestry of one dull dead pattern—yesterday is tomorrow and Troina is Randazzo and when will we ever stop, and God, I'm so tired.[30]

Under conditions such as this, practicality, in the sense of being able to adapt, was essential to both physical and emotional survival.

In its most narrow sense, being practical meant being pragmatic; in its wider sense, however, it meant being sensible or "wising up."[31] The prevailing sentiment about the war was that nobody wanted to go into battle, but so long as the world was fighting, America had better damn well do her best to win it. This quality of being sensible lies behind Richard Tregaskis's remarks about the fighting on Tenaru:

> From Hell Point, on Col. Pollock's end of the spit, volleys of firing sprang out and the Jap was killed as he swam; even the kindliest Marine could not let the swimming Jap escape, for he would be apt then to swim around our rear and throw grenades, as several Japs had done earlier in the day.[32]

Attitudes toward censorship also had a "let's be reasonable" ring to them. It was to common sense that Byron Price made his appeal to newspaper editors: "In all of these things, let's be sensible."[33] He was referring to domestic voluntary censorship, of which he was director, but reporters also used good sense as a yardstick by which to measure whether or not the censor in the field was playing fair.

Periodically reporters were dissatisfied with the way the news was handled. Yet, even in the Pacific, where censorship was most stringent, men like Robert Casey based their hopes for reform on

the admiral's *common sense.* It was this everyday sentiment of common sense that reporters felt ought to rule what passed the censor. Consequently, the highest praise a censor or PRO (Press Release Officer) could muster was that he was a *reasonable* man.

Realism

The fourth and final quality inherent in a common sense approach to life is realism. Using the word *realistic* to describe a certain outlook has the same kind of drawbacks as using the term *romantic.* In our everyday conversations when we say someone is romantic, we usually mean that he sees life through rose-colored glasses. In other words, he does not see life as it *really* is. Likewise, being realistic implies a lack of a broader vision. We have come to think of realistic people as literal-minded people who have little capacity for seeing the world poetically.[34] Applied to journalists, the term encompasses the concept of objectivity. Realism also implies a lack of imagination and a dearth of moral vision.

The truth is that the moral vision of the commonsensical, realistic reporter is *solidarity.* The *common* part of "common sense," narrowly defined, means "average" or "everyday horse sense." But *common* also means "shared" or "general."[35] This moral vision is what lies behind Huck Finn's determination to go to hell with Nigger Jim rather than adhere to an unjust social code. It underlies the guilt Pyle felt, when, upon leaving war-torn Europe for a brief respite at home, he felt as if he were a deserter.[36] Partly, this solidarity was derived from months and years of rubbing shoulders together during the crisis of war. It is solidarity that is at the heart of a scribbled note found on the body of Pyle: "The companionship of 2½ years of death and misery is a spouse that tolerates no divorce. Such a companionship finally becomes part of one's soul and it cannot be obliterated."[37] Solidarity is also the framework for the tacit acknowledgement that, while nobody wants to go to war, "we are all in this together."

Solidarity is a moral vision connected to a time-honored belief that common sense, the domain of the rugged individual, allows one access to higher truths, truths accessible to spontaneous reason. Because common sense is a universal form of reason and the property of all men and women, "the people can serve as a better source of authority for truths than philosophers [so the argument goes], who can be corrupted by aristocratic notions and institutions."[38] So, common sense as a moral vision is tied closely to the philosophical underpinnings of the American form of mass democracy—a form

made legitimate, moreover, by the institution of the watchdog press.

Being realistic meant being accurate too. Compared with the previous wars, there was a significant reduction in unfounded atrocity stories and reports of glamorous heroics and victories without the shedding of American blood. Reporters went behind the commonplace and sought "real facts."[39] They strove for accuracy in the sense of exactness, but also in the broader sense of keeping things in proportion and perspective.[40] Realistic reportage relied heavily on the recording of a great number of details. The so-called romantic reporter paid a good deal of attention to details, also. The realist, however, provided an accurate recording of the event *for its own sake.* Common sense and objectivity took the place of brilliant showmanship.[41] If the columns of Raymond Clapper lacked the fireworks of Westbrook Pegler's, they courted fairness by reason of their factual quality and freedom from animus.[42]

Over and above the presentation of factual details in a precise manner, accuracy meant keeping one's perspective. A consequence of the accurate, realistic viewpoint was the demise of the universally wonderful American Soldier. When the actor Joe E. Brown said he thought the GI's were a wonderful group of men, Pyle retorted, "Bullshit."[43] Neither did death in the service of one's country redeem the reputation of a blackguard. For example, one day in France, some reporters were talking about a person none of them liked who had just been killed. A.J. Liebling, the *New Yorker's* wayward pressman, slipped into the conventional custom and remarked that he had not really been such a bad guy. The rest of the group, however, agreed that "a son-of-a-bitch is a son-of-a-bitch even if he is dead."[44]

Reporters also courted realistic notions about their own chances for survival. Perhaps Ernie Pyle is not a fair example. He was plagued by bouts of severe depression during which he speculated on his own fate.[45] He often felt lonesome, bored, and fed up. Landings, which he dreaded, were preceded by a last minute sense of fatalism. Others besides Pyle had similar feelings, but Pyle's depressions were not caused solely by the war or the difficulties of reporting it. His private life was in shambles. His wife was an alcoholic and frequently required hospitalization. On several occasions she tried to kill herself, the last time being a particularly gruesome attempt. They were divorced and remarried by proxy when he was in Africa. When Pyle wrote his friend Paige Cavanaugh, "If you think of anything to live for, please let me know," his words reflected his personal agony as much as it reflected anything else.[46]

At the same time, the war itself and the duress under which he had to report it took its toll. There were days when he felt he would

crack up if he saw combat again.[47] The daily grind of turning out a column was emotionally draining; it was an "all-consuming everyday thing which exalts a little and destroys completely."[48] When he said there was no sense to the struggle and no choice but to struggle, he was referring to life in general.[49] However, he felt the same about the war. War was "dead men by mass production."[50] As it was for others, the war was too huge, too complicated, and too confusing for him. On especially sad days, he mused, "It is almost impossible for me to believe that anything is worth such mass slaughter."[51] Only when he could see the end of the war did he think he could recapture an eagerness for living.[52]

Conclusion

Ever since the reporter arrived on the scene in the nineteenth century, he has continually tried to be a camera. In this way he is connected to the world of the novel, since both he and the storytellers from the eighteenth century on have been concerned with ordinary lives. Like novelists, journalists have always wanted to send into our homes and offices "the true picture." Reporters covering the Second World War were no exception. With the moral vision inherent in solidarity, they tried to communicate what the war was really like. The map of their inner lives reveals a realistic view of life, one resting on the homely wisdom of the ordinary man and the average guy. With shirt sleeves rolled up and ties askew, these men developed a habit of letting a story tell itself, of exacting emotion from the scenes around them.

In the process of covering battle, the frame of reference reporters used to organize and interpret the scenes they witnessed was common sense. Common sense as a perceptual tool is connected to the heart and meaning of American democracy, the idea that each man is his own source of authority. Reporters covering World War II personalized the common sense tradition and incorporated its characteristics in their reports.

Despite the apparent diversity of talents making up this "worn out bunch of unromantic scribes,"[53] they all had one thing in common. Whether columnist, spot reporter, photographer, or broadcaster, all believed that in carrying out their jobs they should recognize two restrictions: military security and common sense. Because they developed a habit of going to firsthand sources, they rarely indulged in wild speculation or peddled gossip. Occasionally they were wayward and capricious. Always, however, they went about their work determined to give the public a comprehensive, realistic picture of what was happening in the war zone.

Notes

[1] Richard Tregaskis, *Guadalcanal Diary* (New York: Random House, 1944), p.16.

[2] Joe Alex Morris, *Deadline Every Minute* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1957), p. 240.

[3] This number is a little misleading, however.Only two hundred or so covered the conflict at any one time. Most correspondents went over for only four or five weeks; some reporters did cover the war for its duration. See Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), p. 742.

[4] Standard treatments of the press can be found in Edwin Emery, *The Press and America* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972); John Tebble, *The Compact History of the American Newspaper* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1947); Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Throughout 250 Years* (New York: Macmillan, 1947); Bernard A. Weisberger, *The American Newspaperman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Joseph Mathews, *Reporting the Wars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957); M.L. Stein, *Under Fire: The Story of American War Correspondents* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Javonovitch, 1975) is a popular rather than a scholarly account and in many places is not reliable (see M.S. Mander, "Censorship and Communications in World War II," unpublished manuscript). The *National Union Catalog* was consulted for the availability of archival collections. Four collections were consulted: *Robert Joseph Casey Papers*, Newberry Library, Chicago; *Ernie Pyle Papers*, Lilly Library, Bloomington; *Raymond Clapper Papers*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; *Paul Scott Mowrer Papers*, Newberry Library, Chicago. The published articles and books of other correspondents were consulted, including the transcripts of Edward R. Murrow's *This Is London;* however, only those works cited in the paper are included here. Likewise, this paper does not purport to include correspondents generally ignored by mainstream histories: blacks, women, and other minorities.

[5] Cited in Clifford Geertz, "Common Sense as a Cultural System," *Antioch Review*, 33 (Spring, 1975), p. 26.

[6] See Mary S. Mander, "The Journalist as Cynic," *Antioch Review* 38:1 (Winter 1980), 91-107.

[7] David Halberstam, quoting Norman Mailer, "Introduction," in Bill Mauldin, *Up Front* (New York: Norton, 1944), p. viii.

[8] Mauldin, p. 16.

[9] Sevareid, *Not So Wild a Dream* (New York: Knopf, 1946), p. 9. In this discussion I will be drawing on Clifford Geertz, "Common Sense as a Cultural System," *Antioch Review* 33:2 (Spring, 1975), 5-26.

[10] Sevareid, *Dream*, p. 9.

[11] Maurice Matloff, "American Approach to War," in Michael Howard, ed., *The Theory and Practice of War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), pp. 224-236.

[12] *Oklahoman*, 4 February 1944. In 1944 files, Ernie Pyle Papers, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

[13] Sevareid, from a broadcast quoted in *Dream*, p. 495; cf. *Robert Casey* (New York: Bobbs, Merrill, 1945), p. 10.

[14] Ernie Pyle, *Brave Men* (New York: Holt, 1943), pp. 260-61.

[15] Sevareid, *Dream*, p. 238.

[16] Halberstam, pp. vii-x.

[17] Paul Scott Mowrer, "A Reporter's View of Life," *Paul Scott Mowrer Papers*, Newberry Library, Chicago.

[18] Transportation, like censorship, was somewhat of a problem in the early days of the war, and in certain theatres. See, for example, C. A. Rawlings, "The Sweaty Heirs of Richard Harding Davis," *Saturday Evening Post*, 216 (April 29, 1944), 6.

[19] See Robert Casey, World War II Diary, *Robert Casey Papers*, Newberry Library, p. 32; Mauldin, p. 95; E. Pyle to J. Pyle, 25 January.

[20] Mott, pp. 742, 759.

[21] E.J. Kahn, "The Men Behind the By-Lines," *Saturday Evening Post*, 216, (September 11, 1943), 19.

[22] E. Pyle to J. Pyle, 12 January 1941. *Ernie Pyle Papers*, Indiana University, Bloomington. Hereafter, all references to Pyle, unless otherwise noted, will be taken from this collection.

[23] E. Pyle to J. Pyle, 11 February 1944.

[24] Lee Miller, *The Ernie Pyle Story* (New York: Viking, 1950), p. 30.

[25] Robert Sherrod, quoted in M. L. Stein, *Under Fire: The Story of American War Correspondents* (New York: Massner, 1968), p. 109.

[26] Harold Denny, of the *New York Times*, quoted by Stein, p. 99.

[27] E. Pyle to J. Pyle, 2 May 1943.

[28] Kahn, p. 98.

[29] Mauldin, pp. 40-41.

[30] E. Pyle, quoted by Miller, p. 274.

[31] Clifford Geertz, "Common Sense as a Cultural System," *Antioch Review*, 33 (Spring, 1975), 20.

[32] Tregaskis, p. 146.

[33] Byron Price, "Censorship and Common Sense," Address before the annual meeting of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, Hot Springs, Arkansas, 28 September 1942. See Advance Release, Office of War Information, in the 1942 files of *Raymond Clapper Papers*, Library of Congress.

[34] Geertz wrongly includes "Literal" as a quality of common sense imagination. See "Common Sense," p. 22ff.

[35] In this discussion of common sense, I am drawing somewhat on Edwin H. Cady, *The Light of Common Day: Realism in American Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971), pp. 5, 10.

[36] E. Pyle to J. Pyle, 14 April 1944; cf. 13 May 1943.

[37] E. Pyle, from the notes found on his body and kept at the Ernie Pyle Museum, Albuquerque.

[38] Sam B. Girgus, *The Law of the Heart* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1979), p. 45.

[39] Hal Boyle, "Bob Casey and the Great Gift of Gusto," *New York Times*, 24 January 1945. In 1945 files, Robert Casey Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago.

[40] For agreement see Edmond Coblentz, *Newsmen Speak* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954), p. 190.

[41] *American Observer* (13 December 1943), p. 8. In 1943 files, Raymond Clapper Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[42] Roy Howard to Clapper, 16 February 1942. In the letter Howard upbraids Clapper for a column he wrote which was diametrically opposed to Scripps-Howard's editorial position. Howard's point was that, because of the realistic quality of Clapper's work, he had earned the reputation for accuracy and fair play. Howard went on to say that he could not advantageously oppose Clapper's ideas editorially even when he felt Clapper was wrong. He asked Clapper to keep to a minimum "the number of monkey wrenches you find to toss into our editorial camp." See also Howard to Clapper, 30 March 1943, 17 March 1943, for other assessments of Clapper's work.

[43] Miller, p. 343.

[44] Miller, p. 384.

[45] For examples see Pyle to Cavanaugh, 12 February 1941, 18 June 1942, 14 March 1945.

[46] Pyle to Cavanaugh, 23 April 1942.

[47] E. Pyle to J. Pyle, 11 March 1944.

[48] E. Pyle to J. Pyle, 22 June 1943.

[49] E. Pyle to Cavanaugh, 17 September 1940.

[50] From the notes found on Pyle's body, now kept at the museum in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

[51] E. Pyle to J. Pyle, 15 August 1943.

[52] E. Pyle, to J. Pyle, 26 September 1942.

[53] Capa, p. 48.

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A Wider Niche For Westbrook Pegler

FRANK J. KROMPAK

Historiographers are aware of the hazards of selecting elements of history and reducing them to convenient terms. This selectivity sometimes leads to what Jacques Barzun has called the "Reductive Fallacy," or the reduction of diversity to one thing.[1] Such a reduction of diversity seems to have occurred in the case of Westbrook Pegler. Pegler, a columnist and wit, produced thousands of serious and comic essays for more than three decades. In the heyday of columnists of the 1930's and 1940's, Pegler was recognized as possessing a diverse talent—as a political commentator and as a humorist. The latter aspect of his career has been virtually ignored in the popular histories and texts in American journalism.

What there is of Pegler in the histories is essentially one-dimensional. He now suffers a kind of banishment because of a tendency to reduce his work to that single category, political commentator. His reputation in that arena is so murky with controversy that it clouds his entire career. The simplistic, stereotypical description of him as a hater who was clever with words persists. His reputation as a humorist appears buried because historians chose to concentrate on the serious side of Pegler.

It is the purpose of this paper to urge that the narrow view of Pegler be expanded to include his work as a humorist. The persistence of the one-dimensional portrayal in much of the literature may further obscure the work of one who consciously wrote humor, used traditional comic writing techniques, and was recognized by peers and readers as a humorist.

Pegler in History

Press critic A.J. Liebling pronounced Westbrook Pegler the most talented of the columnists who dominated editorial pages in the 1930's and 1940's.[2] Liebling's widow, Jean Stafford, noted that Pegler does not deserve obscurity because of his talent:

> It seems impossible that . . . Westbrook Pegler, whose tempestuous syndicated column showed up all over the nation for decades, can have been forgotten—can, indeed, have never heretofore been heard of. But some reputations attract enshrouding cobwebs with astonishing speed; having once beguiled or outraged, they can, dusted off, do so again; and a tour of galleries of old rogues, demigods, and heroes can divert and instruct.[3]

The predilection of some to stereotype Pegler as simply a shrill scold was noted by George Frazier, a columnist for *The Boston Herald*. Frazier, reviewing a biography of Pegler in 1963, wrote:

> It is sad to realize that Americans who remained unexposed to the daily press until the nineteen-forties knew him only as a columnist consumed with calumny toward certain idols and ideologies of our time
>
> . . . . . .
>
> All this is true, but there was once another Pegler, the one who could write like a dream without demeaning, whose words were sharp as morning sunlight. It is past time for someone to set the record straight, to tell the whole story.[4]

Historians seemed uncomfortable with Pegler. He certainly did not fit the progressive mold, like Heywood Broun and other peers. What historians saw and described was an "angry man of the press"—one whose columns were so vitriolic that bundles of them were marked "hold for libel" and one who was denounced by President Harry Truman as a "guttersnipe."[5] There is scant mention of Pegler in the popular histories of journalism. Frank Luther Mott's references to him are the same in 1941 and 1950. Mott speaks of Pegler as a "debunking sports writer . . . who later gained the reputation of a devastating crusader. . . . [T]o be 'Peglerized' was to be annihilated by exposure."[6]

Following Mott, others mentioning Pegler depicted him in increasingly pejorative terms. Kenneth Stewart and John Tebbel referred to Pegler's writing style as "sulky, angry, iconoclastic." They contrasted Pegler with Heywood Broun, calling Broun

"humanitarian and warm in spirit" while Pegler was "misanthropic and bitter."[7] Bernard A. Weisberger's *The American Newspaperman* categorized Pegler as far to the right and said:

> Extreme haters of the New Deal would rejoice in the perennially boiling Westbrook Pegler, who nursed a consuming hatred for all things emanating from Franklin D. Roosevelt and expressed it often, in a picturesque vocabulary reminiscent of the sports arenas where Pegler had done his apprenticeship in journalism.[8]

Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, while observing that Pegler had a "distinctive, colorful style," followed with an unfavorable summary. They said Pegler's work "degenerated into monotonous and vicious attacks on three small groups—labor unions, New Dealers, and members of the Franklin D. Roosevelt family." They also repeated an earlier appellation, calling Pegler "the stuck whistle of journalism."[9]

There are two major biographies of Pegler (Oliver Pilat's in 1963 and Finis Farr's in 1975) which do deal with Pegler's complexity and diversity of talent. Their balanced approach to their subject seems not yet to have caused other historians to modify their descriptions of Pegler. Farr articulated the difficulty faced by any historian in dealing with such a controversial subject as Pegler, arguing that much of what was written about Pegler repeats the stereotype of him as a hater.[10] He concluded that "there was no way to frame a definition of Westbrook Pegler, except to say that his was a personality of warring opposites, which never completely canceled each other out."[11]

Pegler the Humorist

The other Pegler—the humorist—composed thousands of humorous essays which place him firmly within the nation's comic tradition. There was such a volume of comedy from him, taken over the period of his syndication in the 1930's and 1940's especially, that it is difficult to ignore this aspect of his work. Pegler's writing style was well-suited to producing humor. His was a Rabelaisian style which was described as a combination of "gin-mill epithet and impeccable syntax."[12] His writing was also eclectic, resembling somewhat the work of H.L. Mencken, Damon Runyon, and Ring Lardner. The appropriate word was seldom good enough for Pegler. Anecdotes told about his sitting for hours at the typewriter with wads of paper around his feet, the ash tray full of cigarette butts,

and nothing in the typewriter were apparently true. Reporter Jack Alexander attests to the truth of this description:

> He bats out a couple of lines and, dissatisfied with them, rips the paper from the roller and hurls it away with an oath. He makes a score or more of attempts trying to catch a couple of opening lines that will suit him, and in a haze of cigarette smoke goes on to the next sentence. Amid such sweat and agony are daily born the neat, figure-skating phrases which distinguish Pegler's writing and give it the air of having been tossed off as a cowboy flings a lariat.[13]

Pegler's techniques for extracting comedy from otherwise ordinary material ranged over a wide spectrum. Many of the more common comic devices, and even some esoteric ones, were employed. These included satire, ridicule, irony, mock outrage, exaggeration, savage caricature, utter reductionism (*reductio ad absurdum*[14]) and a "plain folks" or homespun style. These techniques, combined with his acidic style, put him in the mainstream of traditional American political humor.

Examples of Peglerian Humor

Anthologists of humor have noted that Americans appreciate a highly articulate humor.[15] Their appreciation of clever writing may account for Pegler's success in exploiting many of the comic-writing techniques. A typically American characteristic of humor is irreverence toward the high and mighty. Pegler employed this regularly. He once observed that British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was "one of those rare old soaks whose judgment improves with picklement."[16]

Murray Kempton recalled Pegler's ability to reduce complexity to utter absurdity, thereby rendering it thoroughly understandable. Kempton complimented Pegler for his skill in explaining to his readers what King Features (his syndicate) was:

> "(King Features) is a sub-division of the Hearst empire dealing in comic books, comic strip books, sweet powders to make soda pop, toys and a very ingenious variety of dingbats for the immature."
>
> The minimum compliment that sentence deserves is that it renders unnecessary, by the act of poetic concentration, every previous essay on mass culture.[17]

In a fashion reminiscent of H.L. Mencken, Pegler punctured the hypocrisy of some American institutions. He described a certain Southern blue law which kept gas station operators from filling up tanks during church hours save for New York tourists "who are past salvation and not worth saving anyhow."[18]

Another of Pegler's practices was to put a Peglerian twist on a time-honored rhetorical device. It involved disclaiming in advance any pejorative mention of an opponent, all the while accomplishing the same thing by the very act of renunciation:

> In this living human document, I shall try not to mention the name of Roosevelt, or use the terms hoodlum, thief or gangster. I have a subtle sense that such business can be overdone and I don't want to thwart my own purpose.[19]

Of all the comic techniques, Pegler seemed to favor ridicule. Franklin Roosevelt, his wife Eleanor, their family, and the Roosevelt ancestors were favorite targets for his ridicule. To poke fun at these generally revered figures was risky because the reading public might not be amused. Pegler, cognizant of the dangers involved in lampooning the first family, attempted to answer critics with the rationale that "in some future generation, mourners for our vanished estate will desecrate with pagan ritual the graves of editors who disguised moral cowardice as gallantry and excessive good taste."[20]

The President's unique manner of speaking was an obvious target. Pegler wondered how an obvious aristocrat like Franklin Roosevelt could appeal to average citizens

> with his Groton-Harvard dialect which translates 'war' into 'wah' and 'labor' into 'labuh' and imparts a modified Cockney sound to the word 'again.' These peculiarities certainly are not authentic Americanese but very special affectation of a small group among us and have always been identified with snobbery and social hauteur.[21]

Among the longest-running and most entertaining vendettas in American journalism was the three-decade-long feud between Pegler and Eleanor Roosevelt. She was easy prey for his ridicule. He pounced on her aristocratic background, her appearance, her journalistic efforts, her association with humanitarian causes, and her influence as First Lady. Pegler referred to Mrs. Roosevelt's writing in *My Day* as "journalistic excrescence, which is her own husband's definition of a columnist, and which means an abnormal outgrowth,

as a wart."[22] The First Lady's knitting provoked Pegler to make an irreverent comparison. He likened her to the fictional Madame DeFarge and claimed that Mrs. Roosevelt was knitting red stitches and wishing that the Roosevelt revolution had gone further.[23]

Mock outrage was another of Pegler's favorite devices, particularly when he inveighed against the Roosevelts. The wealth of the Roosevelts and their distinguished lineage were irritations to Pegler. He searched through the ancestral closets of the Hyde Park family, determined to find at least one skeleton. He found one in 1944:

> Some readers of these dispatches have asked why I recently exposed the participation of the late Warren Delano, the President's grandfather, in the infamous opium smuggling trade, one of the sources of the Roosevelt family fortune.
>
> To have been consistent in preaching and practice, the President and his wife were morally obligated to divest themselves of every benefit of the opium fortune as soon as their great social conscience was aroused. And certainly, with their great special interest in family history, they must have come upon the evidence long ago that they were living richly on the profits of a slave traffic as horrible and degrading as prostitution.[24]

Vice-President Henry A. Wallace suffered years of Pegler's ridicule over his association with the mystic Nicholas Roerich. The situation was rich with humorous opportunities which Pegler exploited fully. Pegler claimed that Roerich was Wallace's "guru" and, as such, probably had undue influence over him:

> When a fellow with an Oriental makeup and the manner of a carnival fortune teller can make a blithering clown of a member of the cabinet of a President of the United States and obtain from him credentials for a prowl through parts of Asia where mischief was not just an occurrence but a major industry, that is serious business.[25]

Friends and enemies alike got nicknames from Pegler which stuck for years. Regular readers of Pegler knew the characters even without subsequent identification whenever they reappeared in the column. They floated in and out of his column, like troupers arriving on stage for a scene and departing for a while until summoned by the director. President Roosevelt became "Moosejaw the First"; his wife Eleanor was variously "La Gab," "La Boca Grande" (used most often), and "the Empress." Justice Felix Frankfurter was "Old

Weenie"; Vice-President Wallace was dubbed "Bubblehead"; Interior Secretary Harold Ickes was "He-Shrew"; Justice Hugo Black, "Backslid Night-Rider"; Clifton Fadiman, "Bull Butterfly of the literary teas." President Dwight Eisenhower was "Old Baldy"; New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia was "Snitch" or sometimes "Dandelion" (in mockery of the translation of Fiorello—Little Flower); rival columnist Drew Pearson was called "Droop"; and publisher Henry Luce, born in China, was named "China Boy Pi-Yu."

Poetry enabled Pegler not only to make fun of his enemies and institutions but to ridicule poetry itself. He composed a grotesque parody of a modern poem called "Night Over Yugoslavia" to make the point that poetry "is a great fake, at once the most pretentious and the least respectable method of literary expression."[26]

Night Over Yugoslavia
Let cravens crawl when the bugles call
And war clouds lower near;
Let vultures fly in the tumbling sky,
What know the brave of fear?
For 'tis the Spartan breed that cries
From soul to soul o'er the centuries
And all is lost when honor dies
For the hearth-fires burning dear
So spring to arms 'mid war's alarms
And curs'd be he who quails.[27]

Pegler occasionally shared personal experiences with readers for comic purposes. He recalled a visit to a roadside restaurant in Connecticut. In this piece, like others in a similar vein, he used a "plain folks" style.

> They should have sent it to me in the bucket, not on a plate. Dirty old dead lettuce combed out of the sink or somewheres, and scraps of cabbage and tomato and some sour, yellow slop for mayonnaise swimming all over a couple of dumb pork chops like fishing something drownded [sic] out of a pond.[28]

Anti-intellectualism and a kind of populism tinged much of Pegler's humor. He felt that professors, artists, entertainers, and bureaucrats were worthy targets. He said there was nothing egalitarian about an intellectual's behavior when he was likely to "raise hell with the waiter about the condition of the Camembert, because he likes to flay around in space. . . ."[29]

Supreme Court opinions were much too stuffy and complex for

the average citizen, according to Pegler. He sought to instruct the layman on reading one of "Old Weenie's" opinions:

> Frankfurter writes puzzle-talk so woolly and complex that even on studious analysis you would swear that old Weenie had tagged himself out in a hidden-ball trick. Forward, backward and both ways from the middle he reads like that old trick sign in Heinie Gaboob's saloon on South State St. in Chicago, which the Saturday night sports from the bottoms used to pucker their brows about while the talent lifted their wages from their pants.[30]

If the famous had any shortcomings, Pegler made sure his audience was aware of them. New York Mayor LaGuardia was given to occasional use of overly-emphatic language, and Pegler observed, "He rolls filth around in his mouth with voluptuous Adriatic relish and repeats it and fairly drools it. . . ."[31]

Pegler's Use of Character Types

Norris Yates says in his work on American humor that the key to printed humor in the first half of the twentieth century is the humorists' use of character types.[32] Pegler frequently employed character types in his lighter writing. One of them became his most durable and popular creation—"George Spelvin, American." Spelvin was a caricature of a middle-class citizen, a sort of precursor of Archie Bunker. He served as Pegler's mouthpiece for outrage, ducking in and out of Pegler's column for nearly two decades and regularly every week as a Sunday illustrated feature in the 1940's.

George Spelvin mouthed Pegler's populist philosophy, usually by engaging someone else in dialogue or in a confrontation. Spelvin always seemed to be defending rugged individualism, expressing bewilderment at the New Deal and World War II, railing against the insidious bureaucracy, praising the mediocrity of life on Main Street, resisting regimentation and socialization, or voicing suspicion of foreigners and eggheads. Spelvin was a white-collar worker who liked to get involved in civic affairs and write letters of complaint to the "Great White Father in the Big White House." His most frequent complaint was the pain of paying federal taxes:

> Mr. Spelvin is tired and licked and he figures that it is already conceded that his pay belongs first to Old Sam. George Spelvin doesn't work for himself and his family, but primarily for Sam and the Roosians and the English and

> Eyetalians and Greeks. He is tired of keeping jots on odd pieces of paper and figuring out the returns at income tax time. . . .[33]

Spelvin and his wife (known as the War Department) tangle frequently with the foreign egghead, Prof. Onus Odium, at civic meetings. Prof. Odium is set on promoting conformity and cultural cooperation with the Communists. The Spelvins resist, of course, with Peglerian eloquence. Foreign aid was also a mistake, according to Spelvin. He believed that foreign aid masqueraded under the guise of the Peace Corps and that it still took tax dollars "to send the Youth Corps twirps over to Sambogambia to teach those poor natives how to smoke triple filters through an American blowgun. . . . ."[34]

Spelvin is also disturbed by the deteriorating quality of life and his helplessness to change things. He tilts at windmills; his rugged individualism fails him; and he cannot even get a decent meal at a restaurant. When he takes the "War Department" out for an evening at the theater, he must pay scalper prices for tickets. He is overwhelmed with inflation. And even with outrageous prices, the department store informs him, "We can't guarantee delivery."[35]

A tirade against Frank Sinatra, delivered by Spelvin, exemplifies the egalitarian philosophy Pegler espoused in his humor. Sinatra, often "Peglerized" in the 1940's, was portrayed as having purchased his way out of the military draft:

> We had cases where some crooner gave $7,500 to the national committee and the draft board decided the poor boy had crap-shooter's thumb and marked him 4-F. Or again, some phonies they got an army commission for fearlessly yelling insults right in der Fuehrer's face over the radio for the Office of War Information. They knew the first verse of Tannenbaum and that made them German experts.[36]

The Spelvin column was promoted as humor by the New York *Journal-American*, the chief newspaper in the Hearst enterprise, in weekday advertisements when the feature was resurrected in 1947 after an absence of a few years. *Editor and Publisher* reported the reason for the restoration:

> Every time Pegler used Spelvin he got a lively reaction from his readers . . . As a humorous feature—minus Pegler's more caustic political comment . . . Pegler at his humorous best on plays, cocktail parties and the American scene. . . .[37]

Pegler thought so much of the George Spelvin series that he chose much of it for inclusion in three volumes published as hardbound books from 1936 through 1942.[38] Farr notes that Spelvin was a hit with readers and pleased the executives at Hearst Headquarters.[39]

Offensiveness in Pegler's Humor

It is plausible to believe that the many negative appraisals of Pegler's work in the histories resulted from historians' revulsion at the extremes of Pegler's invective. It is even understandable that some historians should fail to recognize humor in Pegler's writing because his savageness was not perceived as funny. Pegler clearly overstepped the bounds of good taste regularly and was no gentleman when he attacked in print.

Yet American political humor has always been characterized by extremes since Colonial times. Leonard Lewin notes that bad taste is defensible in political humor if the offensive matter is germane to the political issue.[40] Farr says that Pegler resembled others who practiced savage caricature in the past, notably James Gillray "who satirized George III and his court in merciless vitriolic style."[41] Jesse Bier, in *The Rise and Fall of American Humor*, writes that much of American humor is "caustic, wild, savage. All of our comic expression may be placed along a continuum from irreverence to outright shock."[42] Critics of Pegler often felt that he went too far in his derogation. But Bier sees a usefulness for cruelty in American humor:

> Against a nauseatingly prettified ideal of American life, humorists set their cruelty as a particular redressment of reality. The fact that they can go too far is a commentary on the instrinsic difficulties of the approach, as seen often in the extremes of black humor, and also on the proportions which false idealizations of character and prettifications of life have assumed in America.[43]

Recognition of Pegler as a Humorist

Even Pegler's severest critics acknowledged that he was a very skillful writer. But his special talent as a writer of comedy was recognized by humorists, anthologists of humor, and his journalistic peers. On the occasion of the publication of Pegler's several books (made up largely of his lighter, witty articles), critics had an opportunity to appraise his humor. Harry Hansen, reviewing *George Spelvin, American and Fireside Chats*, wrote that Pegler's essays

> are not characteristic examples of his fighting articles. Most of them portray his own brand of kidding and are only mildly ironic. . . . The best, for which the book will be valued, are such amusing sketches as Pegler's essay on his shrinking wisteria vine and on the hot dog, "a habit-forming sausage."[44]

Another critic reviewing the same collection, Gerald W. Johnson of the Baltimore *Sun*, wrote that he had difficulty categorizing Pegler's work as either humor or philosophy:

> His main business is relieving the hypertension of a public that has been compelled to think too much. He does it so well that I am inclined to think he ranks as a rough but effective corrector of public disorders, only a little lower than the grand old trinity of hell, hanging and calomel.[45]

Colleagues also commented on Pegler's comic abilities. George Sokolsky, a columnist, said Pegler's Spelvin stories "might have made great literature if they were not confined to the size of a column and probably at times cut to fit. They need more room for development and the spread of a virginal humor."[46] Ernie Pyle, the noted war correspondent, wrote that he would include himself in the group which wanted to see even more humor from Pegler.[47] Another appraisal in Jack O'Brian's column in the New York *Post* referred to Pegler's work as "some of the most brilliantly entertaining writing this craft ever encountered."[48] Harry Golden, a humorist in his own right, commented that Pegler was read because he could write.[49]

Anthologists and historians of American humor acknowledged Pegler's contribution. In his *Horse Sense in American Humor*, Walter Blair includes Pegler among the modern humorists who continued to "bring the old-fashioned type of wit to the people."[50] Lewin included five of Pegler's syndicated comic pieces in his anthology, *A Treasury of American Political Humor*.[51]

Conclusion

Pegler seemed not to take himself or his words as seriously as others did. He admired humor in others' writings and chided his colleagues in retrospect for becoming too serious. He wrote philosophically of his profession in recalling an old friend, Heywood Broun:

> As I look back now, I recall that my late colleague, Heywood Broun, who really was a friend in the old days, foreswore his sense of humor and, I thought, his sense of fairness when he became a man with a message or a crusader and that a couple of professional humorists of my old acquaintance who used to produce joviality on schedule have gone into profound sulks, emerging only on rare occasion when they are feeling uncontrollably nasty over some momentary issue at which times they prostitute their gift of gentle mirth to excite hatred.[52]

Pegler, began losing readership and syndication in the late 1950's; and, in August 1962, he was dropped by the Hearst organization. But during his identifiable peak (in terms of syndication) in the 1930's and 1940's, there was a substantial outpouring of humor from his typewriter. In the 1950's, humor was scarce, and the general tenor of the columns was grim. After his column disappeared, a few admirers recalled him from time to time in their columns. Pete Hamill in the New York *Post* lamented the loss of the early variety Peglerian essay:

> They are buried away in newspaper morgues now, yellowing and breaking with age, and it is too bad that most of today's journalism students will never read them. They are witness to the belief that journalism is more than the clerking of facts, and that the small, well-made thing can be superior to the half-made monster. If you prefer beautiful bantamweights to plodding heavyweights, or an axe to the Pan Am building, try to find some of those old Pegler columns and read them.[53]

Hamill's fear that Pegler's essays might never be read again may be realized if the one-dimensional portrayal of Pegler persists. The narrow niche of political commentator assigned him by some historians ignores a substantial body of his work, which was written to entertain, not merely to bludgeon. His columns, "Fair Enough," "As Pegler Sees It," and "George Spelvin, American," demonstrate a studied approach to comic writing and argue strongly for a wider view of his career.

Notes

[1] Jacques Barzun, *The Modern Researcher* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1970), p. 140.

[2] A. J. Liebling, *The Press* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), p. 454.

[3] *Ibid.*, Introduction.

[4] George Frazier, "Westbrook Sounded Better," *The New York Times Book Review* (Aug. 4, 1963), p. 10.

[5] The bundles marked "hold for libel" were discovered by the author in the morgue of the New York *Journal-American*, now housed in the Humanities Research Center at The University of Texas at Austin. The morgue holdings also contained all of Pegler's syndicated material, his "last will and testament" (a funny piece mimeographed and tucked into the files), and the syndicated material from Pegler's earlier work with Scripps-Howard in the form of clippings from the New York *World-Telegram*. The collection formed the basis for this paper. Since examples of Pegler's humor were taken from stamped and dated clippings, no page numbers for newspaper editions are furnished in the author's references. The author felt he was more likely to find uncut, complete columns in the morgue of Pegler's "flagship" newspaper than in reprinted columns taken from other newspapers. Syndicated columns were frequently cut to space, dropped on occasion, or (in Pegler's case) edited for libel. Thus, the morgue clippings were deemed by the author to be a better source than other newspapers in the Hearst or Scripps-Howard chain. The reference to Pegler as a "guttersnipe" by Truman was originally in the notorious letter from Truman to music critic Paul Hume of the *Washington Post*. The essentials of the letter are in Curtis MacDougall's *The Press and Its Problems* (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., 1964), p. 337.

[6] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941 and 1950), p. 693.

[7] Kenneth Stewart and John Tebbel, *Makers of Modern Journalism* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), pp. 286-287.

[8] Bernard A. Weisberger, *The American Newspaperman* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 178.

[9] Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), p. 314.

[10] Finis Farr, *Fair Enough* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1975), p. 9. The other major biography of Pegler was Oliver Pilat's *Pegler: Angry Man of the Press* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1963). Both were reviewed favorably.

[11] Farr, p. 200.

[12] "Talk of the Town," *New Yorker*, 22 Feb. 1941, p. 13.

[13] Jack Alexander, *New York World-Telegram*, 11 Sept. 1940.

[14] *Reductio ad absurdum* literally means reduction to absurdity.

[15] Jesse Bier, *The Rise and Fall of American Humor* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 17.

[16] *New York Journal-American*, 13 Nov. 1947. Referred to hereafter as *Journal-American*.

[17] Murray Kempton, "The Man Who Hates Publishers," *New Republic*, 148 (8 June 1963), 23.

[18] *Journal-American*, 10 Oct. 1949.

[19] *Journal-American*, 10 July 1948.

[20] *Journal-American*, 21 Dec. 1948.

[21] *Journal-American*, 3 Oct. 1944.

[22] *Journal-American*, 20 Feb. 1944.

[23] *Journal-American*, 20 Jan. 1949.
[24] *Journal-American*, 24 Oct. 1944.
[25] *Journal-American*, 25 June 1947.
[26] *New York World-Telegram*, 30 Dec. 1940. Referred to hereafter as *World-Telegram*.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Journal-American*, 15 June 1948.
[29] *World-Telegram*,28 Dec. 1940.
[30] *Journal-American*, 15 May 1946.
[31] *Journal-American*, 6 July 1945.
[32] Norris W. Yates, *The American Humorist: Conscience of the Twentieth Century* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1964), p. 16.
[33] *Journal-American*, 24 July 1945.
[34] *Journal-American*, 26 April 1961.
[35] *Journal-American*, 11 Oct. 1946.
[36] *Pictorial Review*, *Journal-American*, 9 Nov. 1947.
[37] *Editor and Publisher*, 26 April 1947, p. 96.
[38] The three volumes were *'Tain't Right* (1936), *The Dissenting Opinions of Mister Westbrook Pegler* (1939) and *George Spelvin, American, and Fireside Chats* (1942).
[39] Farr, p. 200.
[40] Leonard Lewin, *The Treasury of American Political Humor* (New York: The Dial Press, 1964), p. 20.
[41] Farr, p. 217.
[42] Bier, p. 1.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[44] *World-Telegram*, 31 Aug. 1942.
[45] New York *Herald Tribune*, 27 Sept. 1942.
[46] *Journal-American*, 11 Nov. 1958.
[47] *World-Telegram*, 7 April 1942.
[48] *Journal-American*, 25 May 1965.
[49] New York *Post*, 29 May 1963.
[50] Walter Blair, *Horse Sense in American Humor* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 304
[51] Lewin, table of contents.
[52] *Journal-American*, 29 June 1945.
[53] New York *Post*, 15 March 1966.

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First Ladies And The Press: Bess Truman To Lady Bird Johnson

LEWIS L. GOULD

Among First Ladies in this century, Eleanor Roosevelt is correctly regarded as the President's wife who did the most to lift the institution out of the domestic shadows where her predecessors had resided. Her wide-ranging travels, vigorous endorsement of controversial positions, and high public visibility made her a preeminent figure in her own right. A recent poll of historians ranks her first among all First Ladies, and the compilers of this survey attribute her position to her "non-traditional" performance.[1]

One of the central contributions that Mrs. Roosevelt made as First Lady was the regular press conferences she held for women reporters in Washington. Begun at the suggestion of Lorena Hickok and Bess Furman, these meetings became one of the many forums through which the First Lady aired her opinions on public issues. In time there emerged "Mrs. Roosevelt's Press Conference Association" with its own procedural rules, membership requirements, and elected officers. Writing to Adlai Stevenson in 1965, the veteran correspondent Bess Furman concluded that "what Mrs. Roosevelt accomplished through these regular meetings in the White House was "a great omission in her life story.[2]

Opinions naturally varied on the value of the conferences. Excluded male reporters such as Walter Trohan sniffed that "there was much twittering and cackling and very little news." A Republican reporter who was there in the 1940's, Ruth Montgomery, contended that "some of her answers which appeared afterward in print evoked squirming discomfort from Steve Early, the President's press secretary." For Mrs. Roosevelt, they were "one of the

most rewarding experiences of my White House years." The women reporters came to see the conferences as an accepted part of the routine of covering the First Lady, and they dubbed her "God's Gift to Newspaper Women."[3]

Although Mrs. Roosevelt's press relations were active, open, and productive of interesting news, what is most striking about them is the relatively slight positive impact they had on the First Ladies who followed her. Of the four women who were First Ladies between 1945 and 1969, only one, Lady Bird Johnson, even approached Mrs. Roosevelt's accessibility to the press. The trend for First Ladies moved, like the presidency itself, toward a more managed and bureaucratized relationship with the media. Eleanor Roosevelt's press conferences and her congenial, direct interaction with female reporters were an innovation that seems unlikely ever to be repeated. Historical generalizations that Mrs. Roosevelt *transformed* the institution of the First Lady should be tested in specific instances, as this essay seeks to do with the subject of press conferences and press relations.

The turn away from Mrs. Roosevelt's style began almost at once after Bess Truman became First Lady on April 12, 1945. Returning from Franklin D. Roosevelt's funeral, she asked the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, whether she had to go through with the commitment that Mrs. Roosevelt had made to present her to the female press corps. Mrs. Roosevelt's assumption was that her successor would want to continue the schedule of regular press meetings. After Perkins and her husband assured her that she could do as she wished, Mrs. Truman issued a statement that she would cease holding the conferences. Elizabeth Virginia Wallace Truman was sixty years old when her husband became President, and she enjoyed a large private influence with him. She was, the President often said, "The Boss." Her public manner was much different from that of her informal, outgoing predecessor. "You liked Mrs. Truman," Lorena Hickok wrote in 1946. "She was pleasant, friendly, wholesome, well balanced. She obviously did not care about being in the limelight—you felt that she was the sort of person who would hate any kind of ostentation."[4] So it was very much in character for the new First Lady to keep the press at a distance.

There were, as is always the case at the White House, political implications in the decision to drop press conferences for the First Lady. When Mrs. Truman recalled her resolve that "I wasn't going down in any coal mines," she was explicitly distancing herself from the example Mrs. Roosevelt had set. A friend wrote approvingly that "it is wonderful to have you so anxious to stick to your post of duty instead of trying to be Vice President, and I am voicing what I hear on every side." The First Lady responded: "It is always encour-

aging to have friends feel that one has made a wise decision."[5]

The greater public interest in the First Lady that Mrs. Roosevelt had stimulated, along with the perpetual demands of the press for information about Mrs. Truman's activities, led to arrangements through her Social Secretary to keep women journalists informed. She retained Edith Benham Helm, Mrs. Roosevelt's Social Secretary, and brought with her Reaethel Odum. There was not as yet any press secretary or press apparatus as such for the First Lady, but the initial moves in that direction now commenced.[6]

Mrs. Truman held a tea for the women reporters on May 29, 1945, at which no questions or quotations on public matters were allowed. As the official ground rules put it, "Inquiries would be limited to personal and social matters." The president's aide who drafted the policy noted that "this arrangement would dispose of a great many individual inquiries which are now coming from the women correspondents and would eliminate much future annoyance." Margaret Truman recalled, "We gave them a guided tour and tea and conversation." Otherwise, the First Lady made no public statements, gave no interviews, avoided radio appearances even when Mrs. Roosevelt invited her, and did not speak on the record or for quotation. She responded to questionnaires on a few occasions, but her replies were always terse. "Mrs. Truman, how are we going to get to know you?" a reporter asked. "You don't need to know me," came the answer. "I'm only the President's wife and the mother of his daughter."[7]

The task of meeting press questions fell to Helm and Odum. They scheduled weekly briefings to keep reporters informed of social events and provide them with background material." Usually, this consisted of a list of Mrs. Truman's engagements. The new arrangement, Ruth Montgomery said, meant that "the distaff side of the Executive Mansion could be covered only by rumor and backstairs gossip." The procedures suited Mrs. Truman and the president. Potentially awkward situations could be avoided, and the First Lady's schedule more easily managed. Helm and Odum handled routine inquiries, and the more delicate issues went to the president's aides, such as William D. Hassett. In 1950, when Mrs. Truman received a request for public support from the Art for World Friendship Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Hassett drafted a reply that Edith Helm could send out. "I don't think it is possible to pin anything subversive on these girls," Hassett wrote in a covering memorandum, "although a lot of them seem to have a pinko tinge."[8]

In her tenure as First Lady, Mrs. Truman largely avoided embarrassing controversies, with two minor exceptions. Her attendance at a tea of the Daughters of the American Revolution in

October, 1945, brought a rebuke from Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, whose wife, the black jazz pianist Hazel Scott, had been denied the right to give a concert at the DAR's Constitutional Hall. Four years later, Mrs. Truman had to back away from attending a tea at the University Women's club in Washington when it was revealed that the sponsoring organization practiced racial discrimination. Otherwise, Mrs. Truman enjoyed general popularity for her obscurity and discretion, and the administration appreciated the comparisons that were made with Mrs. Roosevelt. "Mrs. Truman has been a great tonic for that very large segment of the population who got good and tired of her predecessor climbing flagpoles, scrambling down into zinc mines, and turning a dollar wherever she could by cashing in on her White House connections," said a columnist in the Lubbock (Texas) *Evening Journal* in March, 1951. The president was, Hassett reported, "deeply touched" by the press comment.[9]

Bess Truman did hold a second and final meeting with the White House female press corps in the early spring of 1952. She showed the reporters around the renovated White House and easily fielded a question about whether her husband might run for another term. "Now that's a question you're not going to get a yes or no on," she said, "but it's a fair enough question, I'll admit." On occasion, the First Lady did leak news to reporters in what Bess Furman described as "a good story on a non-quotation basis." But, Furman added, it was "never a political story. Mrs. Truman knew her politics, but was silent on the subject." When the Trumans left the White House in January, 1953, the *Los Angeles Times* said that she had been "a model First Lady and a loyal and dignified partner to the President during every difficulty that has beset him and the nation." Thus, her aloof and restricted policy toward the press had accomplished the goals that she and her husband had had for it in April, 1945.[10]

Mamie Eisenhower began her official press relations as if she intended to break with Bess Truman's practice. On March 11, 1953, she held a televised press conference at the White House for forty-one men and thirty-seven women reporters. Mrs. Eisenhower discussed her schedule of engagements and talked about the changes she had made in the decoration. It was, said one account, "gay self-portrait of a First Lady who enjoyed the job," and Bess Furman's story spoke of "easy, interesting chit-chat on the day's doings and changes made in the White House."[11]

The March, 1953, press conference was not a prelude to continued greater openness about Mrs. Eisenhower's activities as First Lady. Fifty-seven when her husband became President, Mamie Doud Eisenhower had a weakened heart that limited her physical

capacity. Her uncertain health confirmed her in the belief "that every woman over fifty should stay in bed until noon." Though close friends knew that she possessed "a forceful personality," one concluded that "her warmth and affectionate regard for her friends more than makes up for her decisiveness." In public she displayed a deference to her husband that led her to say "I think Ike speaks well enough for both of us."[12]

Mrs. Eisenhower's routine, in its arrangements with the press, soon came to resemble Mrs. Truman's. As Julie Nixon Eisenhower wrote, "She predated the era of 'the press secretary to the First Lady.' " Her secretary, Mary Jane McCaffree, continued the Helm-Odum practice of disclosing her official schedule of engagements. In October, 1953, the First Lady did come to one of McCaffree's briefings to announce that her personal secretary would also be her Social Secretary and aide. Mrs. Eisenhower also insisted that White House staff members avoid the press, and her private travel schedule was not revealed. "She rarely gave interviews," Julie Eisenhower noted. "They were foreign to her come-sit-on-the-couch-and-chat-with-me nature."[13]

The press corps acquiesced in this genteel arrangement. Maxine Cheshire said that newspapers in the 1950's followed "an Emily Post approach to reporting about the occupants of the White House." There was not vigorous investigative reporting about the gifts that Mrs. Eisenhower received from foreign governments, nor was there much sustained journalistic interest in her reduction of the White House social schedule. Once the presidential newswomen satisfied their editors that Mrs. Eisenhower's health problems were the cause of her periodic absences from public view and not the widely rumored drinking problem, coverage of the First Lady settled into a placid, White House-dominated routine. "No First Lady," concluded Maxine Cheshire, "was ever as gently treated in print as Mamie Eisenhower."[14]

An example of this treatment occurred in the early spring of 1955 when the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Paul Butler, suggested that the president might not seek a second term because "Newspaper reports indicated that Mrs. Eisenhower's health is not too good." Republican senators denounced Butler for practicing "person-smear" tactics. Two months later the issue surfaced again when the First Lady cancelled some social engagements. "She does not enjoy the tiresome job of having to sparkle all the time," said the *U.S. News and World Report.* The Washington columnist Betty Beale, in the *Washington Star*, devoted a column to dispelling rumors about Mrs. Eisenhower. The First Lady, Beale wrote, did not play cards all day; she was not dominated by her Social Secretary, and she did what she could, within the

limits of her strength, to meet her social obligations. As the President put it to a news conference, "She is, of course, not as robust and strong as some people, but she is a good healthy person, I think, in the general meaning of that word."[15]

In the fall of 1957, Mrs. Eisenhower held two social occasions to which female reporters were specially invited. The "Washington newswomen" hosted a "Happy Birthday Mamie" party on November 12, 1957, under the sponsorship of the Women's National Press Club and the American Newspaperwomen's Club. They gave the First Lady a one-page newspaper labelled the "Newsgal's Gazette," and she in turn made a short speech. The *Washington Post* columnist observed, "For one thing Mrs. Eisenhower spoke, and though her remarks were brief, that was an occasion in itself." A month later there was a tea for the press in exchange for the birthday event. Bess Furman wrote that "many in the line had known her for years, and she had a personal word for each friend."[16]

Press relations regarding the First Family took a more combative turn early in 1958, when the question of presidential travels and Mrs. Eisenhower's health again became public. Vacationing in Thomasville, Georgia, President Eisenhower made a lengthy detour to Phoenix, Arizona, to take his wife and several of her friends to Elizabeth Arden's Maine Chance health farm before returning to the White House. The trip aroused some comment, as did the tight security that surrounded the First Lady's visit itself. "Was Mamie getting the full waxworks?" asked *Time*. "The White House and the Arden empire clammed up tight." At the same time Drew Pearson and some Democratic senators raised questions about gifts to the Eisenhower family and alleged influence peddling by the First Lady's in-laws. The charges did not stick, and Mrs. Eisenhower's public image continued in the pattern established in 1953. Only as she prepared to leave the White House in 1961 did some criticism of her style and taste in decoration surface.[17]

Jacqueline Kennedy has a reputation for success as a First Lady based on her continuing celebrity status, her redecoration of the White House, and her gallant behavior when her husband was assassinated. In the memoirs and papers of the women reporters who covered her, a far different picture emerges. Mrs. Kennedy took a much more activistic role in her relations with the press than either Mrs. Truman or Mrs. Eisenhower, but her aim was not the openness of Eleanor Roosevelt. Instead, she sought to preserve the largest possible amount of personal privacy within the context of her inescapable notoriety. The result was much public acclaim for herself and intensely strained relations with the press corps. Stephen Birmingham has suggested that Mrs. Kennedy learned from her father that "it was important that a woman create an aura

around herself of *reserve*, of inaccessibility." Carrying this over into her White House years, she followed the precept she laid down to her aide who handled reporters: "My press relations will be minimum information given with maximum politeness."[18]

Mrs. Kennedy was thirty-one when her husband became President. Before their marriage she worked for a Washington newspaper as an "inquiring photographer" and gained, thereby, some insight into the operations of the press. Pregnancy in the autumn of 1960 allowed her to limit her campaign appearances, but she wrote a "Campaign Wife" column, made some radio broadcasts, and delivered a few speeches. She promised reporters "that the press should be kept informed" and said that she would have "frequent" press conferences as First Lady. In fact, as one of her biographers later acknowledged, "Once campaigning was done, she would regard personal press conferences as unnecessary and an intrusion on her cherished personal life."[19]

As a buffer between herself and the media, Mrs. Kennedy named Pamela Turnure, then twenty-three, as her assistant with responsibility for dealing with reporters. "You can invent some ladylike little title for yourself," she wrote Turnure before the inauguration, because "I don't think a First Lady should have a Press Secretary." Turnure officially worked as an Assistant Social Secretary for the Press, under both Letitia Baldridge, the Social Secretary, and Pierre Salinger, the President's Press Secretary. "Tish" Baldridge's inept opening encounter with the media in December, 1960, may have underlined the need for a secretary with the press as a specific assignment.[20]

Once the administration was in office, Mrs. Kennedy fulfilled her pledge to have a social gathering of the women reporters, but, as she had forecast privately, "it won't be a press conference—just having them to tea." When the tea was held, the assembled reporters were served soggy sandwiches and Kool-Aid. The First Lady did not receive the guests personally; Tish Baldridge handled that obligation. Mrs. Kennedy came late and talked only to those friends she knew. After that early encounter, her problems with the press worsened.[21]

Mrs. Kennedy did not like most of the women reporters at the White House. For those who covered her most closely, especially Maxine Cheshire and Helen Thomas, she had undisguised contempt. Reporters were, in her words, "the harpies," and she jokingly suggested that they should "be held at bay by Presidential aides holding bayonets." Reporters who attended White House parties had to wear formal gowns, but the First Lady thought that a place

behind the potted palms would best suit their employee status. President Kennedy said to the Indian prime minister, "My wife does not believe in free press."[22]

As had Mrs. Eisenhower, Mrs. Kennedy sought to have the White House staff remain silent about their work. She wanted them to sign formal pledges, as she put it, "that they won't write anything about their experiences in the White House." She also tried to keep her redecorating plans for the mansion entirely confidential, and Pamela Turnure monitored the conversations that Tish Baldridge had with reporters about such questions. The press noted cynically, however, that there were ample "photo opportunities" for pictures of the Kennedy children and that favored photographers had ready access to attractive shots. "What I couldn't understand," Helen Thomas said in her memoirs, "was Jackie's desire to have it both ways. When she was creating the image of a concerned First Lady, she wanted press coverage. When she was flying off on her Friday-to-Tuesday weekend trips, she wanted to pull the velvet curtain closed."[23]

Mrs. Kennedy's travels evoked enthusiasm in the countries she visited with her husband and those, such as India and Pakistan, to which she went as the main attraction. On these tours, her rapport with the press was not good. During her stay in France in 1961 with the President, she snubbed the American newswomen at a press conference where she spoke only in French to the local media. One columnist said that the "honeymoon" between Mrs. Kennedy and the ladies of the press was ending because the First Lady had begun to believe her own press notices. Some months later, on the eve of Mrs. Kennedy's 1962 trip to India and Pakistan, Emma Bugbee, a longtime White House reporter, told Bess Furman: "Mrs. K is getting herself cordially disliked by her refusal even to speak to the press gals who wait at her hotel." The reporting of her Indian trip reflected some of the hurt feelings of the female reporters. But the grumbling of journalists made no dent in Mrs. Kennedy's popularity as First Lady. Her shrewdly conceived press strategy, which used the publicity machinery at the disposal of the President's wife, kept what Stephen Birmingham calls "the squeezing paw" of the public at a safe, discreet, and rewarding distance.[24]

Lady Bird Johnson became First Lady in November, 1963, when network television coverage, expanded to a half-hour nightly, was reshaping generally the relations of the press with the White House. More intensive observation of the public activities of the First Family was now possible, and both Lyndon Johnson and his wife were very aware of the potential rewards and risks that the White House press corps provided, "In the beginning," Helen Thomas later wrote, "President Johnson treated reporters to a tumultuous,

whirlwind courtship, and he reacted like a jilted lover when we didn't respond to his wooing."[25]

Almost fifty-one when she moved into the House, Mrs. Johnson had been a journalism student at the University of Texas in the early 1930's. Subsequent experience with the family's radio and television stations in Austin and elsewhere in Texas enhanced her media expertise. "She knew the language of the trade," said one of Mrs. Johnson's aides, "the difference between an A.M. and P.M. deadline, that it is better to be accessible than evasive." The First Lady wanted to institutionalize the press aspect of her role, and she did not share Mrs. Kennedy's reluctance to have the public know about her press secretary's presence in the White House.[26] In addition to her Social Secretary, Bess Abell, Mrs. Johnson formalized the First Lady's press operations with the naming of Elizabeth "Liz" Carpenter as Press Secretary and Staff Director. Described as "the White House female P.T. Barnum," Liz Carpenter had gone to work for the Johnsons in 1960 and "had always been disappointed that no First Lady had ever named a professional newswoman as her press secretary." She arranged with the president's press secretary, the holdover Pierre Salinger, "a clear division of powers" that gave her responsibility for the news that interested "eighty-five women reporters who cover the family side of the White House."[27]

Under Carpenter's direction, the First Lady's press management apparatus expanded. In addition to the Press Secretary herself, there were three aides and two secretaries. One of Carpenter's subordinates, Simone Poulain, coordinated Mrs. Johnson's television appearances and set up the two network specials that the First Lady did. Carpenter continued the Helm-Odum tradition of briefings, but on an informal *ad hoc* basis, "whenever a trip was coming up, or there was a great deal of news to announce." Reporters also pursued their inquiries about Mrs. Johnson and her daughters over the phone. Carpenter had the third largest number of phone lines in the White House and received 150 calls on an average day. She also endeavored to nudge the press toward stories that the White House wanted covered. "Idle typewriters are the devil's workshop," Carpenter remembered. She wanted the newswomen "busy writing articles we could live with—rather than to leave them the time to write the ones we couldn't."[28]

Mrs. Johnson herself approached the press with ambivalent feelings. She wrote in her diary on January 10, 1964, after her first "tea for ladies of the press," that "I hope the time never comes when I have to be afraid of them." Holding regular press conferences, as Eleanor Rossevelt had, did not appeal to her belief, as she recently has said, that she did not produce enough news to justify such sessions. Instead, she envisioned her press gatherings "not as con-

ferences but informal meetings—as an invitation to a relaxed and pleasant atmosphere with an opportunity to meet somebody else who was newsworthy." She found "the press party pleasant. I like to show people my way of life." About press conferences as such, she had more qualms. She was a frequent visitor to her husband's press conferences. "These conferences," she wrote, "always affect me as though I were going into battle."[29]

Interaction with the press corps was more spontaneous on the frequent trips that Mrs. Johnson made as First Lady. Her work for "beautification," a term she disliked, took her to rivers and mountains with the news media in pursuit. "Newswomen are notorious packrats," Liz Carpenter recalled, "and on the beautification trips often brought back such journalistic flora" as "an unusual species of potted wildflower, a miniature redwood tree." When Mrs. Johnson stumped by train through the South for her husband in 1964, she gave each reporter a "certificate of journalistic perspicuity" as evidence of the camaraderie that had emerged. The women who covered her genuinely liked Mrs. Johnson as they had not liked Mrs. Kennedy. They found her "candid but discreet," but argued that "she did not want to see or hear the unhappy realities." The First Lady understood, as had her three immediate predecessors, that the machinery that stood between her and the press could be useful in preserving her own sense of herself. "You have considerable privacy here," she told the White House reporters. "The walls close around you."[30]

After Mrs. Johnson, the slight flexibility that she had brought to her press relations faded, and the pattern of management and control that came after Eleanor Roosevelt reasserted itself. Pat Nixon's press secretaries, first Constance Stuart and then Helen Smith, had to integrate the First Lady's schedule and appearances with President Nixon's, and Mrs. Nixon was often kept uninformed about her husband's travels until the last minute. For her part Mrs. Nixon could be chatty and open with the reporters who accompanied her in the early days. She held a press luncheon for the women reporters, met with them regularly thereafter, but said little of substance. "Treat them with kid gloves and butter them up" was her formula, she once said to Connie Stuart. In time, however, the siege mentality enveloped her press operations as it did the White House at large. After 1973, Stuart labeled the reporters as "the leeches," and Mrs. Nixon withdrew from the public eye as the Watergate revelations occurred. If she went out, newswomen fired questions at her about the scandal. "Why bring it up?" she would reply. Helen Smith attempted to schedule appearances for her boss in 1974, but Mrs. Nixon invariably declined. By August, the issue

was irrelevant, as the First Lady became what her biographer calls "The Lonely Lady of San Clemente."[31]

Betty Ford's nearly twenty-six months as the First Lady reflected the ongoing tensions between the desires of activist and outgoing Presidential wives and the institutional constraints that have grown up since Mrs. Roosevelt left the White House in 1945. Mrs. Ford had one successful press conference in September, 1974, and her articulate appearances in print and on television made her highly admired in the public opinion polls. Her press secretary, Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld, wanted "to get Mrs. Ford into substantive issues and off the society pages," in part to "attract a more legitimate press corps" than the reporters who usually covered a First Lady.[32] Given the publicity that accompanied Mrs. Ford's endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment, her health problems, and her tolerant views on social issues, it would seem that she and Ms. Weidenfeld were most successful.

A reading of Weidenfeld's interesting memoir, *First Lady's Lady*, indicates how enduring the arrangements that dictate press coverage of First Ladies are likely to be. Weidenfeld found herself with half the staff of Liz Carpenter, no access to briefing reports of the president's press office, and geographical separation in the East Wing away from decision-making near the President. The men around Ford thought that "Pat Nixon was the best First Lady possible. She was seen and not heard." Donald Rumsfeld, the White House chief of staff, believed that "the ideal Presidential couple was composed of one leader and one follower." Mrs. Ford thus became the most liberated and feminist First Lady since Eleanor Roosevelt in spite of the attitudes of the president and his associates, and in spite of press operations that insured a subordinate and controlled role for a Presidential wife.[33]

In light of this review of how First Ladies since Eleanor Roosevelt have approached press coverage of their White House careers, it should not be surprising to find that Mrs. Roosevelt's methods of dealing with journalists have not been repeated. An unusual set of circumstances underlay her years as First Lady—a marriage that had become largely a convenient union of political partners, a husband secure enough about himself to give his wife ample public room, and a First Lady whose background, talents, and disposition fitted her for the limelight. Since that time presidents have viewed their wives as helpmates, appendages, or, at most, as intimate political operatives or confidants, not as potential Eleanor Roosevelts. Chief Executives have pursued a defensive strategy in which they made the most of having a wife by insuring that these women did not become political or cultural liabilities. Since the press would likely reveal when such negative results had taken place, the ability to

manage journalists emerged as the first essential of a successful First Lady. If there is, then, a sense of unrealized potential in all the First Ladies since 1945, one place to begin a search for causes is in their press coverage.[34]

Notes

[1] *Los Angeles Times*, 15 September 1982.

[2] Bess Furman to Adlai Stevenson, 21 May 1965, Box 33, Bess Furman Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Maurine Beasley, "Lorena A. Hickok: Journalistic Influence on Eleanor Roosevelt," *Journalism Quarterly*, 57 (Summer, 1980), 281-286. See also, Maurine Beasley, ed., *The White House Press Conferences of Eleanor Roosevelt* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1983).

[3] Walter Trohan, *Political Animals: Memoirs of a Sentimental Cynic* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1975), p. 101; Ruth Montgomery, *Hail to the Chiefs: My Life and Times with Six Presidents* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1970), p. 16; Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), p. 106; Joseph P. Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1971), p. 364.

[4] Jhan Robbins, *Bess & Harry: An American Love Story* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1980), pp. 80-81, quotes Frances Perkin's recollections. There is a draft of Lorena Hickok's 1946 story about Mrs. Truman in President's Personal File, 1947-1949, Box 33, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

[5] Robbins, *Bess & Harry*, p. 78, quotes Mrs. Truman; Mrs. E.G. Haberlein to Bess Truman, 7 May 1945, Ha-Hp Folder, Box 10, White House Social Office Files, Truman Library.

[6] Edith Benham Helm, *The Captains and the Kings* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1954), p. 248.

[7] Edward A. Ayers, "Memorandum," 18 May 1945, President's Personal File, Box 2, Truman Library; Margaret Truman, *Souvenir* (New York: McGraw-Hill 1956), p. 107; Robbins, *Bess & Harry*, p. 82; Bess Truman to Eleanor Roosevelt, 19 January 1951, Ron-Ros Folder, Box 18, White House Social Officer Files, Truman Library.

[8] Ayers, "Memorandum," 18 May 1945, Truman Library; Montgomery, *Hail to the Chiefs*, p. 27, William D. Hassett to Edith B. Helm, 2 November 1950, Ar File, Box 2, White House Social Office Files, Truman Library.

[9] For the Hazel Scott episode, see the letters in the DAR Controversy File, President's Office File, Box 93, Truman Library; the dispute over the tea at the University's Women's Club is covered in Mrs. Leslie Whitten to Edith B. Helm, 27 September 1949, Helm to Whitten, 3 October 1949, 13 October 1949, 4 January 1950, Univ.-Uy Folder, Box 22, White House Social Office Files; William D. Hassett to Mrs. Charles R. Taylor, 5 April 1951, enclosing newspaper clipping, President's Personal File, Box 2, Truman Library.

[10] Ruth Montgomery to Bess Truman, 25 March 1952, enclosing clipping of her column of 24 March 1952, Moa-Mop File, Box 14, White House Social Office Files; Draft of news story on Mamie Eisenhower News Conference March 1953, Mamie Eisenhower File, Box 40, Furman Papers; *Los Angeles Times*, 18 January 1953.

[11] *New York Times*, 12 March 1953; Furman Story, March 1953, Mamie Eisenhower File, Box 40, Furman Papers.

[12] J.B. West, with Mary Lynn Kotz, *Upstairs at the White House: My Life with the First Ladies* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1973), p. 178, quotes Mrs. Eisenhower on her hour of rising; Ellis D. Slater, *The Ike I Knew* (privately printed, 1978), pp. 57-58, discussed her personality; Steve Neal, *The Eisenhowers: Reluctant Dynasty* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1978), p. 400, last quotation.

[13] Julie Nixon Eisenhower, *Special People* (New York: Simon Schuster, 1977), p. 178; *New York Times*, 1 October 1953; Neal, *The Eisenhowers*, p. 400.

[14] Maxine Cheshire, with John Greenya, *Maxine Cheshire: Reporter* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), pp. 28, 30.

[15] "The Presidency: Heat About a Cold," *Time*, 65 (21 March 1955), 15-16; "Why Mamie 'Takes It Easy,'" *U.S. News & World Report*, 38 (13 May 1955), 47 (Eisenhower quotation), 49; U.S. Congress, House, *Congressional Record*, 24 May 1955, pp. 6848-6849.

[16] *New York Times*, 13 November 1957, 17 December 1957; *Washington Post*, 13 November 1957.

[17] "The Presidency: The Baffling Week," *Time* 71 (3 March 1958), 11-12; "The First Lady; Behind the Curtain," *Time*, 78 (10 March 1958), 14; U.S. Congress, House, *Congressional Record*, Appendix, 17 March 1958, A2449; U.S. Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, 16 June 1958, 11248-11249; Tyler Abell, *Drew Pearson Diaries, 1949-1959* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), pp. 437, 440, 443.

[18] Stephen Birmingham, *Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1978), p. 33, italics in original; Mary Van Rensselaer Thayer, *Jacqueline Kennedy: The White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), p. 34.

[19] Deane and David Heller, *Jacqueline Kennedy*, (Derby, Conn., Monarch Books, 1963), p. 69; Thayer, *Jacqueline Kennedy*, p. 33. See also, Mary Van Rensselaer Thayer, *Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), p. 119.

[20] Thayer, *Jacqueline Kennedy*, p. 33; Pamela Turnure to Bess Furman, 14 October 1961, Box 34, Furman Papers, gives Turnure's title; Letitia Baldridge, *Of Diamonds and Diplomats* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 157-159.

[21] Thayer, *Kennedy*, pp. 33, 34; Kitty Kelley, *Jackie Oh!* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1978), pp. 150-151.

[22] Cheshire, *Maxine Cheshire*, pp. 44-47; Helen Thomas, *Dateline: White House* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), p. 7, harpies quotation, p. 9, bayonets quotation; Kelley, *Jackie Oh!*, p. 151.

[23] West, *Upstairs*, p. 214; Cheshire, *Maxine Cheshire*, pp. 49-52; Thomas, *Dateline: White House*, pp. 10-11.

[24] Emma Bugbee to Bess Furman, 9 March 1962, Box 24, Furman Papers. I am indebted to Maurine Beasley for calling this letter to my attention. On the Paris episode, see Lee Guthrie, *Jackie: The Price of the Pedestal* (New York: Drade Publishers, 1978), p. 82, honeymoon quotation. Louise E. Perlitz, "Jacqueline Kennedy's Trip to India and Pakistan, 1962," seminar paper, University of Texas at Austin, 1982, copy in author's possession, examines the press coverage of her journey. Birmingham, *Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis*, pp. 110-111.

[25] David Culbert, "Johnson and the Media," in Robert A. Divine, ed., *Exploring the Johnson Years* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 214-248. Helen Thomas, *Dateline: White House*, p. 62.

[26] Elizabeth (Liz) Carpenter, *Ruffles and Flourishes* (Garden City; New York: Doubleday & Co., 1969, 1970), p. 114; there is no sound biography of Lady Bird Johnson, but Nan Robertson, "Our New First Lady," *The Saturday Evening Post*, 237 (8 February 1964), 20-24, is accurate and perceptive.

[27] Carpenter, *Ruffles and Flourishes*, pp. 111, 112, for the quotations; Thomas, *Dateline: White House*, p. 84. Elizabeth Carpenter to George M. Maines, December 15, 1964, author's collection.

[28] Carpenter, *Ruffles and Flourishes*, pp. 117, 118.

[29] Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 36-37, 428; Mrs. Johnson discussed her general attitude toward press conferences in the author's class on First Ladies, 23 November 1982.

[30] Carpenter, *Ruffles and Flourishes*, pp. 211-212; Thomas, *Dateline: White House*, pp. 54-55, 88, 89, 94.

[31] Thomas, *Dateline: White House*, pp. 167, 170, 181; Cheshire, *Maxine Cheshire*, pp. 116-117; Bob Woodard and Carl Bernstein, *The Final Days* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976), p. 166; Lester David, *The Lonely Lady of San Clemente: The Story of Pat Nixon* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978), pp. 134-136.

[32] Shelia Rabb Weidenfeld, *First Lady's Lady: With the Fords at the White House* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1979), p. 28.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 417.

[34] Until Rosalynn Carter's memoirs appear in 1983, an evaluation of her press strategy would be premature.

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A "Front Page Girl" Covers The Lindbergh Kidnaping: An Ethical Dilemma

MAURINE H. BEASLEY

Lorena A. Hickok, a journalist of the 1920's and 30's, was one of New York's best-known "front page girls," as outstanding women reporters were called during the heyday of tabloid journalism.[1] A "front page girl" stood out like a star in an era when most women journalists were confined to the society columns. By virtue of almost superhuman effort and competence, these rare individuals managed to convince male editors they were able to perform as well as, or better than, men reporters and so merited the same prize assignments as masculine colleagues.[2]

Hickok, who worked in the New York Bureau of the Associated Press from 1928 to 1933, excelled in scooping her competitors and "achieved standing with the A.P. that no other woman has matched," according to a contemporary.[3] Her name, long forgotten, appeared in the news in 1979 following announcement of a book based on her voluminous correspondence with her intimate friend, Eleanor Roosevelt.[4] Yet Hickok deserves study as a journalist apart from her relationship with Mrs. Roosevelt.

Hickok's papers, opened to researchers at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York, in 1978, contain fragments of an unpublished autobiography, as well as her correspondence with Mrs. Roosevelt, and other letters. In the autobiography, Hickok wrote at length on her experiences covering one of the biggest news stories of the 1930's—the kidnaping of the infant son of aviator Charles A. Lindbergh. The Lindbergh material, previously unused by researchers, will form the basis of this paper.

To become a "front page girl," Hickok had surmounted a poverty-stricken childhood in the Middle West. Born in 1893 in East Troy, Wisconsin, she had been mistreated by her father, a buttermaker, and forced to leave home at the age of fourteen, following her mother's death.[5] After two years of earning her own living as a hired girl in South Dakota, she went to live with her mother's relatives in Battle Creek, Michigan, where she completed high school.[6]

Her career in journalism started on the *Battle Creek Evening News* after she flunked out of Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin.[7] Moving on to Minneapolis, she became Sunday editor and chief reporter on the *Minneapolis Tribune*, exceptional accomplishments for a woman of her day.[8] She also enrolled at the University of Minnesota but dropped out due to the demands of her job.

In 1927 Hickok appeared on the New York scene, working for a year on the *Daily Mirror* and then for the Associated Press. Her industry and competence, combined with her ability to write human interest, "sob sister" pieces brought her all types of assignments, including those in the masculine preserve of politics.[9] While covering Franklin D. Roosevelt as governor of New York, Hickok became acquainted with Eleanor Roosevelt and subsequently was assigned to write about her during Roosevelt's first Presidential campaign in 1932.[10] Following Roosevelt's election, Hickok resigned from the Associated Press and became part of the Roosevelt administration as a confidential investigator of relief programs, from 1933 until 1936.[11]

In later years Hickok worked as a publicist for the New York World's Fair and as executive director of the women's division of the Democratic National Committee, positions obtained with Mrs. Roosevelt's aid. After moving to Hyde Park to be near Mrs. Roosevelt in the 1950's, Hickok coauthored a book on women in politics with Mrs. Roosevelt (*Ladies of Courage*, 1954) and wrote a biography of her (*Reluctant First Lady*, 1962), as well as several books for young people. Hickok died in 1968.

This paper, focusing on her experiences covering the Lindbergh kidnaping case, draws heavily on her autobiographical account. This account is valuable for historians because it provides a rare and vivid picture of a "front page girl" at work. In addition, it offers a look at what a reporter perceived to be her responsibility for newsgathering in an era of gross sensationalism. This paper also examines to what degree her reporting methods matched prevailing ethical standards of the day.

Hickok was one of scores of journalists who descended on the village of Hopewell, New Jersey, near the isolated Lindbergh estate after the baby was stolen from his nursery on March 1, 1932.[12] Ten weeks elapsed before his battered body was found in a thicket five

and a half miles from the estate. In the meantime, the nation hungered for news.

Although the press corps departed from the Lindbergh estate by request after the first day the kidnaping was reported, it remained camped in the village. There was little factual information, but editors placed enormous pressure on reporters to produce copy. The Lindbergh kidnaping pushed the Depression off the front page for months as the nation craved details, first of the kidnaping and then of the trial of the accused murderer, Bruno Hauptmann.[13] The leading wire services—Associated Press, United Press, and Hearst's International and Universal services—each sent out fifty thousand words about the crime within twenty-four hours after the story broke, thirty thousand words the following day, and ten thousand words or more daily for weeks thereafter.[14]

Many of the reporters on the scene came from New York and Philadelphia, but the kidnaping was publicized far beyond the East Coast. Alfred McClung Lee studied coverage of the case, given the day after the crime, in twenty-eight morning newspapers across the nation. He found that six published more than eighty column inches (or one-half of a page) related to the kidnaping on their front pages alone and that one, *The Kansas City* (Missouri) *Times*, one hundred column inches.[15] Lee noted that the stories in the twenty-eight newspapers were credited to the wire services, to the *New York Times* and *Chicago Tribune*, and to special correspondents and local staffers, who drew on morgue material about the Lindbergh family.[16]

One of the six A.P. reporters at the scene, Hickok joined one female and four male colleagues. The total New York press contingent also included six men from United Press, five from Hearst services, a dozen reporters from the *Daily News* and the same number from the *American* (including William Randolph Hearst, Jr., the paper's president), ten from the *World-Telegram*, four from the *Herald-Tribune*, and at least twice that number from the *Times*.[17] This delegation represented only a fraction of the hundreds of reporters, photographers, newsreel cameramen, and radio broadcasters who roamed over the Lindbergh grounds until Lindbergh pleaded with them to withdraw and they set up quarters in Hopewell.[18]

Obviously, these individual reporters were eager to enhance their careers and vied for the glory of front-page by-lines. As Hickok put it in her autobiography, "The Lindbergh story was one that every reporter in the country was aching to get a crack at."[19] She was furious that the A.P. did not send her to the scene until March 3, two days after the crime:

> "I remember walking up Fifth Avenue the afternoon of March 2, on my way back to the office from some political pow-wow in Al Smith's office in the Empire State building, cursing under my breath all the way and wondering if I would be justified in quitting the A.P."[20]

At Hopewell, Hickok described herself as part of the "horde of New York newspaper reporters and photographers" who were "a wild, boisterous, cynical, unmannerly crew" loved only by one group of local residents—"the bootleggers."[21] Since Hopewell offered only one shabby hotel, space to live and work posed a problem. The A.P. staffers rented an apartment over the single grocery store, setting up a typewriter on the dining room table where they pounded out so much copy they had to have the top refinished when they left.[22]

Hickok's initial attempt at newsgathering was to look for clues herself. When she arrived, the police were still searching abandoned farmhouses in the area. Hickok and an A.P. photographer, Moe Becker, leaped into the search. They rented a car driven by a local resident named Ashton, nicknaming him "Ambling" because he refused to go over thirty miles an hour. As Hickok recalled the experience:

> In the course of our travels that afternoon, we heard, in a rural speakeasy where we stopped for a beer, about an abandoned house on the Princeton highway. . . . We found the house only after driving past it a couple of times—a big, rambling old place, set back from the highway and screened from view by a row of trees on a bank three or four feet above the road.
>
> Looking about, Moe and I made two discoveries that started us on a frantic search through the house. There were muddy tracks around, mostly dried. But one piece, apparently off the instep of a man's shoes, was still damp when we turned it over. And someone had spat on the floor, and it was still damp.
>
> Into every room we went, from cellar to attic, turning over piles of rags, lifting up rotting floor boards, whacking at the walls. Moe had equipped himself with a piece of lead pipe. I had a broken hockey stick. We found nothing—only brought down showers of broken plaster. There was no sound save those we made ourselves, our footsteps, the crash of falling plaster, our voices echoing back and forth. It was getting toward dusk when we went outside, but we began digging wherever the earth looked as though it had recently been disturbed, while "Ambling" Ashton sat in his car muttering derisively: "Them's just moles!"[23]

When Hickok and Becker returned to Hopewell, they tried to interest the police in what they had discovered but found the authorities were "not even polite" listeners.[24] Hickok telephoned a story about the experience to the A.P. desk in New York, but it made "no impression."[25] She noted, "Moe and I were mildly kidded as a couple of over-enthusiastic amateurs."[26]

After the press corps ran out of abandoned houses to search, the search for news became even more intense. The Lindberghs, as might be expected, were overwhelmed with grief and yet bolstered with hope that the baby would be returned unharmed. They were not available to the press, although one newspaper proposed that groups of reporters daily interview the aviator, a plan which Lindbergh vetoed.[27] Although he initially had welcomed publicity in hopes of flushing out the kidnaper and securing the return of the baby, his tolerance of the press waned as he came to fear that its frenzied output would frighten the kidnaper and impede negotiations.[28] His wife, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, expecting another child at the time of the kidnaping, wrote her mother-in-law of her relief when the reporters left the estate: [It] allows us to go out and walk. That is a great help to me."[29]

The police proved little more communicative with the press than the Lindberghs. With few facts to appease the appetite for news, reporters resorted to their imaginations, making use of any bits of information they could dredge out of each other. On one occasion, a feature writer questioned "Deac" Lyman, aviation editor of the *New York Times*, who had been a visitor to the Lindbergh estate, about the interior of the home. To Lyman's amazement she then wrote a by-lined front-page story for her own newspaper titled, "My Visit to the Lindbergh House," fabricated out of their conversation.[30] As Hickok recalled it:

> Day after day there would be nothing to write except what you could draw out of your imagination, and after three or four days imaginations began to wear pretty thin. There was nothing to do except sit around waiting for something to happen, drinking applejack, quarreling with your friends, and arguing with the desk in New York.[31]

As Hickok saw it, the kidnaping sent her superiors into a state of frenzy that made her own life difficult, if not impossible. Before midnight on a freezing, windy night, she received a call from her editors in New York who claimed to have learned the baby had been returned to his parents. The police refused to discuss this rumor, but news executives were not satisfied with a negative response. The night executive editor, Marion Kendrick, ordered Hickok to "get the story—and fast!"[32]

Determined to keep her standing as the A.P.'s leading "front page girl," Hickok hit on a bold plan. Shortly after her arrival in Hopewell, "Ambling" Ashton had shown her a secret path up a mountainside leading to the Lindbergh estate. Now she decided to climb the path to look in the windows of the Lindbergh home. Taking along an A.P. photographer, Eddie O'Haire, and refusing the plea of a male reporter to go in place of her, Hickok set forth, driving to the bottom of the snow-covered path in Ashton's car. This is her account of the 2 a.m. adventure with "the temperature well below freezing (and) the wind howling . . . like a pack of wolves":[33]

> It probably took us twenty minutes to get up to the top. It seemed like half a day. Finally, after a stretch so steep that we practically had to crawl up on our hands and knees, we came to the edge of a level, spacious clearing and there before us, stood the Lindbergh house, dimly outlined in the lights from its windows. . . . Then Eddie swiftly and noiselessly set up his camera and took a six-minute time exposure of the house, packed up again, and dropped back into the woods to wait for me. . . .
>
> I hesitated, staring out across the snow at the house. There were lights downstairs in what I guessed must be the living room, with wide windows facing out across the valley. There were lights upstairs, too, in one end of the house, and I could see someone moving about—the calm, unhurried motions of someone getting ready for bed. Attached to one end of the house was a smaller building, brilliantly lighted. That must be the garage, I thought. I had heard that the police had set up headquarters in the garage. Apparently, there was no patrol, and there was no sound save the wind. . . .
>
> Finally I swallowed hard, dropped to my hands and knees, and crept slowly forward, stopping every few feet to look around and listen, until I lay just outside the rectangles of light on the snow from the windows. Now I could hear faintly, when a gust of wind blew from that direction, voices from the garage. But that was all. The lights upstairs went out. Certainly there was no sign whatever of the excitement there must have been had the baby been found. . . .[34]

Hickok's trek up the mountain brought no praise from her superiors, although she developed flu and lost her voice for six weeks. The only fact that registered on her editors was that she had "no story," she remembered.[35] She recalled her annoyance at a story in a New York paper quoting Kent Cooper, general manager of the A.P., as saying he had issued instructions to his staff members not

"to intrude on Colonel Lindbergh or bother him in any way."[36] According to her, "We had of course received no such instructions from New York . . . the New York office was constantly yipping at our heels, day and night."[37] "Pestered," as she put it, for "bright little color stories," she recollected "humming Brahms' Lullaby to get myself worked up to the proper pitch."[38]

Before the baby's body was found, Hickok was taken off the assignment and told to return to political reporting. She was not at Hopewell when Frank Jamison, another A.P. reporter, phoned in the story, on discovery of the body, that won him a Pulitzer prize. Jamison's story, which beat the competition by forty-five minutes, told how a truck driver had stumbled on a shallow little grave in the woods along a highway—just across the road from the abandoned farmhouse that Hickok and the photographer had entered.[39] To Hickok it was a "delayed heartbreak" to realize how close she had come to breaking one of the world's biggest stories.[40]

Judged by today's standards Hickok's reportorial conduct seems shady at best. By her own admission, she concocted news. She attempted to play detective, possibly destroying potential pieces of evidence in the process—even though the police refused to follow up on her lead. Certainly, she invaded the privacy of the Lindbergh family, crawling on hands and knees around their home to peer in the windows.

But ethical standards must be judged in light of their historical period. Hickok worked at a time when ethics was a hotly debated topic. Spurred by attacks on the press from reformers like Upton Sinclair, whose scathing critique, *The Brass Check*, appeared in 1919, the American Society of Newspaper Editors had adopted its first code of ethics in 1923, the Canons of Journalism. According to the Canons, "Freedom from all obligations except that of fidelity to the public interest is vital."[41] Hickok's performance, however, showed that news organizations were far more concerned about competition than abstract public interest.

The kidnaping story boosted circulation figures enormously for newspapers. In all large cities circulation soared, with sales going up nearly twenty percent in New York City and even more in Chicago.[42] The sales of radios zoomed also, as Americans sought a minute-by-minute account of the tragedy.[43] In the midst of the Depression, the crime proved an undreamed-of bonanza for the news industry. As one of Lindbergh's biographers wrote:

> But if the huge publicity interfered with the processes of justice, blackened innocent reputations, and seemed to threaten the very life of a kidnaped child, it served well its primary purpose: it boosted newspaper circulations and

> publishers' profits. It also served a secondary purpose, perhaps not altogether inadvertently: in an election year, during a Republican administration, it distracted popular attention from ominous economic and social problems.[44]

Granted that Hickok's motivation was founded on self-interest and desire to hold her job, still her personal conduct in news-gathering did not violate acceptable practices of the era. She made every attempt possible to get the facts of the situation, both by her personal investigation of the deserted farmhouse and her trek up the mountainside, even though personal privacy was invaded. As Nelson A. Crawford, a press critic of the period, noted, "In justice to the sensational press, one should recognize the fact that it has done some good in stimulating reporting. It has made investigation by reporters a part of the day's work."[45] Indeed, if the authorities had paid attention to Hickok's account of the clues in the farmhouse, the case might have been solved sooner.

Disturbing from an ethical point of view today was Hickok's need to generate sentimental human interest stories to appease her editors. This, however, was commonly done in the period and defended, to a certain extent, as a harmless use of "hokum." Crawford reported, "Newspaper men know the public taste for 'hokum,' and they frequently add to news stories matter which they have invented in order to make the facts appear to conform to the public ideas."[46] He did not totally condemn the practice. In another contemporary book on ethics, H.J. Haskell, an editor of the *Kansas City Star*, was quoted as urging reporters to make "the same sort of use of imagination that the great business man employs . . . to see the possibilities of a good story."[47] He cautioned, however, against outright "faking."[48]

Of course, to the Lindberghs such rationalizations for sensationalized coverage would have been totally unconvincing. In his biography, Charles A. Lindbergh wrote, "Newspaper publicity continued to be so intense, inaccurate and sensational, that it resulted in our suffering threats in extortion letters and in the presence of sightseers in such numbers that I had to arrange for an armed guard to protect our second son, who was born in August of the same year."[49] No doubt it would have been impossible to persuade the Lindberghs, or other victims of ballyhooed crime, of the harmlessness of "hokum."

Hickok's reaction to the demands of her editors showed a definite discomfort with her role as a reporter. She became indignant when the head of the A.P. was quoted as warning his reporters not to invade Lindbergh's privacy, since she knew no such warning had been given. She disliked the personal strains between individual

reporters, recalling that "Usually the New York reporters on an out-of-town story worked in a pack, cheerfully sharing information. . . . On the Lindbergh story it was strictly every man for himself. The story was too big, the leads too few, you shared nothing. . . . Nobody trusted anybody."[50]

In that discomfort may be seen considerable ethical frustration. Hickok felt forced to resort to heroic acts to get news, although she failed to accomplish her objective. She was placed in a precarious position—eager to beat all her competitors, yet conscious of the suffering that brought her to the scene. As she phrased it, "If you were a woman, your imagination played tricks on you. You'd wake up out of the sleep of exhaustion thinking you heard a baby crying."[51] In her comments we see ethical problems yet unsolved today for reporters, although professional standards have developed beyond those of the Lindbergh period.

It is to be hoped that few reporters today would prowl around houses to check out rumors or fabricate morbid tales. Still, central questions remain. To what extent should a reporter detach himself or herself from acceptable social conduct in order to get the news? Precisely how does a reporter heed an ethical code based on "fidelity to the public interest," when the public interest seems remote from one's need to stay employed? And what is the public interest in crime stories anyway—to be informed at the price of ignoring the plight of innocent victims? Confronted by these questions, today's reporter is as likely to be as uncomfortable in some situations as Hickok.

Notes

[1] Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1936), pp. 5-6.

[2] Ross, pp. 5-6.

[3] Ross, pp. 204.

[4] The letters, which number some 3,000, form the basis of Doris Faber, *The Life of Lorena Hickok: E.R.'s Friend*, (New York: William Morrow, 1980).

[5] Chapter I, "The Making of an Introvert," unfinished autobiography, Hickok papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y., hereafter referred to as FDRL.

[6] Chapter II, (untitled), unfinished autobiography, Hickok papers, FDRL.

[7] Outline, unfinished autobiography, Hickok papers FDRL. See also letter, Hickok from Ella Ellie, 1 June 1913, Hickok papers, FDRL.

[8] Outline, unfinished autobiography, Hickok papers, FDRL. See also John P. Broderick, "An Interviewer Interviewed," unpublished article, n.d., Hickok papers, FDRL, p. 2.

[9] Ross, p. 204. See also letter to Bess Furman from Hickok, n.d., (Believed to be 1930), Furman papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[10] Lorena A. Hickok, *Reluctant First Lady* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1962), pp. 4-11, 49.

[11] Edited versions of Hickok's reports to Harry L. Hopkins, head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, are collected in Richard Lowitt and Maurine Beasley, eds., *One Third of a Nation: Lorena Hickok Reports on the Great Depression* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

[12] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), p. 703.

[13] Frederick Lewis Allen, *Since Yesterday* (New York: Bantam Books, 1965), p. 52. Reprint of 1940 edition.

[14] Kenneth S. Davis, *The Hero: Charles A. Lindbergh and the American Dream* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959), p. 309.

[15] Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. 572.

[16] Lee, p. 572.

[17] Davis, p. 308.

[18] Walter S. Ross, *The Last Hero: Charles A. Lindbergh* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 199.

[19] Chapter VII, "The Lindbergh Kidnaping Story," unfinished autobiography, Hickok papers, FDRL, p. 3.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] John Brant and Edith Renaud, *True Story of the Lindbergh Kidnapping* (New York: Kroy Wen, 1932), p. 229.

[28] Davis, p. 309.

[29] Anne Morrow Lindbergh, *Hour of Gold, Hour of Lead: Diaries and Letters of Anne Morrow Lindbergh 1929-32* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1973), p. 229.

[30] Ross, p. 201.

[31] Chapter VII, "The Linbergh Kidnaping Story," unfinished autobiography, Hickok papers, FDRL, p. 5.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-9.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[41] "The Canons of Journalism," as quoted in Lee Brown, *The Reluctant Reformation: On Criticizing the Press in America* (New York: David McKary, 1974), p. 12.

[42] Davis, p. 313.

[43] Anthony Scaduto, *Scapegoat: The Lonesome Death of Brunno Richard Hauptmann* (New York: Putnam's, 1976), p. 36.

[44] Davis, pp. 312-13.

[45] Nelson A. Crawford, *The Ethics of Journalism* (New York: Knopf, 1924), p. 114.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[47] Leon N. Flint, *The Conscience of the Newspaper* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1925), p. 49.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Charles a. Lindbergh, *Autobiography of Values* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976), p. 19.

[50] Chapter VII, "The Lindbergh Kidnaping Story," unfinished autobiography, Hickok papers, FDRL, p. 5.

[51] *Ibid.*

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Suffrage As News: Ten Dailies' Coverage Of The Nineteenth Amendment

ANNE MESSERLY COOPER

At 8 a.m. on August 26, 1920, Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby signed the Nineteenth Amendment into law, enfranchising twenty-six million women and ending a struggle which began in the United States in 1647 or 1848 or 1918, depending on where one starts counting (see Appendix 1). The compelling and emotionally charged fight for women's suffrage touched virtually every female (and surely most males) in the United States. As Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Shuler wrote in their 1923 book, *Women's Suffrage and Politics*, "Not all women in every state were in it. But most women in all the states were at least on the periphery. . . . To them all its success became a monumental thing."[1]

Fifty years after women won the vote, attention again focused on the suffrage struggle as interest in women's history was rekindled. During the 1970's, numerous books on women's history were published or reissued, and a great many scholars chose this area of study as a speciality.[2] The Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, begun in 1972, attracted 1,500 participants to its 1981 session.[3]

Further evidence of the renewed interest in women's history in the 1970's was the increased use of, and support for, established women's history libraries and the founding of new women's history collections. Research visits to the Elizabeth and Arthur Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America at Radcliffe College, for example, grew from 247 in 1970 to more than 4,000 in 1980.[4] With the opening of new libraries, including those with a minority-group or geographic emphasis, the United States now has more

than 18,000 women's history collections.[5] Including, but not limited to, the study of history are the more than three hundred women's studies programs in this country's colleges and universities.[6]

According to Jane Hoff-Wilson of the Brookings Institute, "What we have been brought up on is basically patriarchal history"—history which eliminates women from serious consideration.[7] Just as these patriarchal histories tend not to pay much heed to the suffrage movement, journalism histories nearly ignore the growth of the suffrage press and the role of the mass press in covering the suffrage story. Tebbel, for example, devotes just one paragraph of his 444-page text to the topic of suffrage,[8] and Emery and Emery mention it only in connection with the American Woman Suffrage Association's founding in 1869 of *The Woman's Journal.*[9] Pickett, on the other hand, does not deal with suffrage at all, despite sections in his book on press treatment of a myriad of political proposals—even one for creating a park in New York City.[10]

Nor do histories of women in journalism deal at length with suffrage, except as the movement was covered by women. Marzolf devotes four paragraphs to the topic,[11] and Beasley and Gibbons devote one chapter to the suffragist newspapers *The Revolution* and *Woman's Journal,* but do not treat the mass press.[12] Thus, somewhere between journalism studies which do not treat suffrage[13] and histories of suffrage which do not deal with the role of the press,[14] there is a gap which this paper may partially fill.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Woman suffrage would seem to bear all the hallmarks of a big story. When enacted, the Nineteenth Amendment more than doubled the ranks of eligible voters with one stroke. Aside from this political fact, Kessler has isolated a number of other positive implications of suffrage which were discussed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: suffrage would correct inequities between the sexes (in education and employment), benefit society (in that women voters would be supposedly more moral and honest), and give women better economic protection.[15]

These implications of suffrage, along with others just as far-reaching but more negative, represented a clear break with the past. Thus, what chance would suffrage news have of "making the papers," since a substantial literature underscores "mass media's reluctance to grant access to ideas that challenge the status quo"?[16] This reluctance—which has been called "the negative side of agenda setting"—can be seen most clearly with the advantage of hindsight,

by identifying historical outgroups and new ideas which later found a place on the media agenda.[17] In a study of reformist ideas in late nineteenth-century newspapers in Chicago and St. Louis, Nord concluded that "agenda setting is a political process. Whether an issue is expanded or suppressed becomes a question of the relative power of the participants."[18] The question of whether women, lacking the vote, had any such power is an interesting and important one.

Kessler, in a content analysis of the Portland *Oregonian*, 1870-1905, found that suffragists, a fringe group challenging the status quo, did indeed "gain little access for [their] ideas until woman suffrage was perceived as legitimate by persons outside the movement."[19] Coverage was minimal for thirty-three years until 1905, when it took a quantum leap; seven years later, Oregon's men voted to enfranchise Oregon's women. (The choice of Portland for the National American Woman Suffrage Association's 1905 annual convention proved to be the event which tipped suffrage onto the agenda of the Portland *Oregonian*.)[20]

Both Kessler and Nord studied access of local reformers to local media. But what about a *national* challenge to the status quo of all localities? Press coverage of the Nineteenthth Amendment, which presented just such a challenge to the status quo, has apparently been little studied. After Congress validated the idea of woman suffrage by passing the Nineteenth Amendment, perhaps it was no longer a fringe-group issue anywhere in the U.S.; or could it be that differing local contexts made the amendment seem threatening here, acceptable there, and business as usual elsewhere?

Thus the following questions may be asked about newspapers' coverage of the Nineteenth Amendment:

A. *Prominence.* How did prominence of suffrage on the news agenda vary from locality to locality?
B. *Tone.* In various localities, was suffrage portrayed as negative and threatening, positive and long overdue, or neutral?

METHOD

This study deals exclusively with newspapers, the medium from which, along with magazines, the public received information about the amendment's progress and followed the debate about its pros and cons. There were, of course, no national electronic media or national newsmagazines in 1918-20. (The first commercial radio station was established in 1920 at Pittsburgh, Pa., and the first

weekly newsmagazine, *Time*, in 1923.) Ten daily newspapers published in medium-to-large cities in various parts of the nation were chosen for study.
They are, by region:

Northeast	*Christian Science Monitor* (national, published in Boston)
	New York Times
	New York *Tribune*
Mid-Atlantic	*Washington Post*
South	*News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C.)
	Richmond *Times-Dispatch*
	Times-Picayune (New Orleans)
Midwest	Chicago *Daily Tribune*
	Courier-Journal (Louisville)
West	San Francisco *Chronicle*

Each of these papers took at least one wire service, and most had their own bureaus or correspondents in Washington, D.C.

In order to highlight variations in coverage, this study focuses on one event, the amendment's enactment. This event was chosen for three reasons. First, all ten newspapers covered it; it was clearly a big story. Second, it was not *the* biggest story in the amendment's long history (see Appendix 1). Probably the most spectacular burst of coverage surrounded Tennessee's August 18 ratification of the amendment, making it the thirty-sixth and final state needed for the required three-fourths majority; almost all newspapers gave the ratification banner headlines and pages of coverage. The official enactment on August 26, by contrast, was enough of an anticlimax to permit individual newspapers to exercise considerable discretion in handling that story. Third, with the amendment a *fait accompli*, newspapers could explore the implications and logistics of woman suffrage for their own communities—or ignore the local angle and treat suffrage as a national story, if they chose.

The period studied was August 25-29—Wednesday through Sunday. The news that the Nineteenth Amendment had indeed become law was available for publication August 27, so this study bracketed that day with two days of "anticipatory" coverage and two days of aftermath, for a total of five days. Both research questions were addressed within this period.

A. Prominence

Given the facts surrounding the enfranchisement of twenty-six million American women (see Appendix 1), newspapers in 1920 had many choices about how to handle the story. "Prominence on the

news agenda" was computed with seven discretionary-treatment variables, using the following point system:

1. Front-page placement	1 point for each day of page-1 coverage
2. Headlines on page 1	1 point for each 1-column headline 2 points for each 2-column headline 3 points for each banner headline 1 point for each headline at top of page
3. Own bureau vs. wire-only stories	2 points for each national story from own correspondents
4. Number of stories (all pages)	1 point for each story
5. Local follow-up	3 points for each day with local "angle"
6. Editorials	5 points for each
7. Editorial cartoons	5 points for each

The total score a newspaper received would indicate the relative importance it accorded suffrage when compared with other newspapers. It is true that differences among technical facilities and *news hole* space in the ten newspapers could account for some differences in scoring. Thus, neither photographers nor length of a story—merely its presence—were considered as determining criteria. Any newspaper writing one editorial, no matter how long, would receive as many points as a larger paper with room for five stories. Greatest weights were given to those variables which represented the most effort and strongest commitment to the issue: putting a bureau reporter on the story, seeking out local angles, and creating editorials or editorial cartoons. Those tasks requiring less initiative—taking stories off the wire, writing headlines, and making layout decisions—were given lower weights.

B. Tone

Three types of variables were used to judge whether coverage of suffrage—a subject which in its day evoked strong emotional responses—was positive, negative, or neutral.

1. Editorial stance—Was a positive, negative, or neutral position towards suffrage expressed in editorials or editorial cartoons?

2. Wording of headlines—Did headlines convey the enactment as positive (e.g., using words such as "victory," "success"), negative (e.g., portraying suffrage as a "defeat" for the anti-suffragists), or neutral?
3. Wording of stories—For staff-written stories, was there more emphasis on "victory at long last" or fears of suffrage's "dire consequences" or neither?

These three dimensions of tone (positive, negative, and neutral) were combined with three dimensions of prominence on the news agenda (high, medium, or low) to create a nine-cell design.

FINDINGS

A. Prominence

By 1920, suffrage had taken its place as a page-1 topic at or near the top of the news agenda in all localities studied—along with news of Britain's Irish troubles, the Bolshevicks, and an upcoming Presidential election. Its relative prominence, however, varied from newspaper to newspaper.

Table 1 shows all newspapers' scores for the prominence measure, with high and low scores highlighted and means provided for all seven measures. We can observe that the Raleigh paper was very strong in the size and prominence of its headlines and its heavy treatment on its editorial page; by contrast, the Louisville paper, with the second-highest score, was not outstandingly high on any one facet—just moderately high on all facets. Showing a still-different pattern, the third-scoring *New York Times* was strongest in coverage by its own bureaus to supplement the wires and in the sheer number of stories it published; it used its particular strengths to the fullest in its coverage.

All newspapers in the study put the suffrage story on page 1 at least once during the five days we considered (see Table 1, criterion 1). However, only two gave the enactment banner headlines (criterion 2). On August 27, the Raleigh *News and Observer* spread across all seven columns the words, "Secretary of State Colby Issues Equal Suffrage Proclamation for United States" while the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* declared on the same day, "Secretary Colby Proclaims Equal Suffrage."

Only the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* and the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* did not use their own bureaus to supplement national wire coverage (criterion 3). It is not clear whether either paper had a Washington bureau, but the *Times-Dispatch*, less than one hundred miles from the national capital, could have sent a correspondent there if it so chose. The *New York Times*, strongest of

all the papers in bureau coverage, used stories from its own correspondents not only in Washington but also Athens, Ala., Baltimore, Md., and Nashville, Tenn. The New York *Tribune*, under a headline "Harding Urges/Women Not to/Be Feminists," had a story from a staff correspondent in Marion, Ohio, about Warren G. Harding, a senator and Presidential candidate; the senator spoke and congratulated a delegation of two thousand women.

The *New York Times* clearly had the most stories, seventeen (criterion 4). But the *Times-Dispatch*, despite its small size (ten pages), still managed to find room for fourteen stories.

It is interesting to note that only one paper, the Chicago *Daily Tribune*, had outstanding local-angle coverage (criterion 5). Part of this attention to the suffrage story may be attributed to the coinciding of the amendment's passage by Tennessee with the closing days of registration for the September 15 primary. Three stories (e.g., one on August 26 headlined "48,437 Women/Add Names to/Polling Lists") dealt directly with registration, but there were four other stories as well—on the probable effect of the women's vote on state-level elections, a "woman-on-the-street" feature by the Inquiring Reporter, a preview of a suffrage parade in downtown Chicago, and a review of that parade the next day.

The content of editorials (criterion 6) will be discussed below, for those eight newspapers which made a comment on the amendment. Most papers (five) ran one editorial. However, the *Washington Post* and the Louisville *Courier-Journal* ran two each, and the Raleigh *News and Observer* ran three.

The Louisville *Courier-Journal*, the New York *Tribune*, and the San Francisco *Chronicle* all ran cartoons. Only the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* offered no comment at all, whether in written or cartoon form (criterion 7).

Table 2 shows that the majority (six) of the newspapers studied fall into the "medium" range of coverage. Only one, the *News and Observer* of Raleigh, exhibited "heavy" coverage; with that paper's score eleven points higher than the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, the "contest" for highest prominence on the agenda was not even close. Earlier we cautioned that individual capabilities would influence scores, so they should not be interpreted rigidly; however, the *News and Observer* put forth its extensive coverage *despite* its small size (sixteen pages on average) and non-use of cartoons, so such capabilities need not necessarily hinder the playing up of a story if perceived as important by a newspaper.

B. Tone

The categorizing of "tone" resulted in half the dailies falling into the "positive" group, four falling into the "neutral" group and

only one—the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*—falling into the "negative" group. Admittedly, this process was somewhat subjective; it could be further tested by using independent coders and checking for inter-coder reliability.

Negative tone. The Richmond paper was categorized on the basis of its headlines and editorial coverage. Some headlines showed a sympathy for the anti-suffragists, but none showed a balancing sentiment for the pro-suffragists. A page-1, top-of-the-page headline for August 26 stated that a "set back . . . almost destroys last hope" of the anti-suffrage forces, who "are again losers." Furthermore, of all ten newspapers, only the *Times-Dispatch* had no acknowledgement whatsoever of the amendment's passage on its editorial pages. The political significance of twenty-six million new voters was commented on in various ways by the other dailies, none of which felt able to ignore the matter. The silence of the *Times-Dispatch* is deafening.

Positive tone. By contrast, five papers made clear their support of the amendment by acceptable journalistic means—through editorial comment—or through less acceptable ways (coloring their headlines and stories), or both. The five are the *Christian Science Monitor*, the San Francisco *Chronicle*, the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and the Raleigh *News and Observer*.

Positive comment in editorials took various forms. The Raleigh *News and Observer* on August 25 in a page 4 commentary titled, "Equality the Aim of Women," took a chiding attitude toward enfranchisement: "Is it not surprising that it should be at this late date in our civilization that women had it?" it asked rhetorically. There is almost outrage in an editorial of August 28, which begins, "The long seventy-year struggle by women for a share in the government, which ought never to have been denied them, [has] ended in complete triumph. . . ."

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* ran an editorial on August 26 (p. 4) which stated, "It is regrettable that there should be any possibility of further delay in conceding to women the prerogative of suffrage which has been so long and unfairly denied to them." The tone is still strongly pro-suffrage, but there is less outrage apparent than in the Raleigh newspaper.

The New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, in an editorial (p. 8) titled "The Suffrage Fight," painted the *antis* as the black hats and the suffragists as the white hats. "[I]t goes without saying that if there is any possible way of snatching back the ballot the women of America now hold in their hand, that way will be sought out" by the anti-suffragists, according to the editorial.

The San Francisco *Chronicle*, in an editorial titled "The Tennessee Trouble," (August 25, p. 22), stated its support for the amendment in the first sentence. The editorial spoke of "the importance of the suffrage question and the desirability of conferring the right of suffrage upon all American women at the earliest date possible. . . ."

The *Christian Science Monitor*, in an August 27 editorial titled "The Real Majority for Suffrage," (p. 16) called women's suffrage "what is essentially just." "The rightness of a great step in advance must become constantly clearer to all, both men and women," the editorial stated.

Examples of pro-suffragists' slanting stories and headlines were hard to find, especially since so much of the coverage consisted of wire stories. The wire services were, after all, in business to sell objective copy to, and avoid offending, customers of many political stripes.[21] The closest a newspaper came to blatant bias was the *Times-Picayune's* connection of woman suffrage with its own vitriolic campaign against Mayor "Boss" Behrman. An article on August 26, pages 1 and 5, titled "Women Join O.D.A./To Crush Bossdom," contained quotes such as, "'The Orleans Democratic Association endorsed women suffrage long ago,' said Col. Sullivan, 'and we feel sure that if the women had the ballot in this election, the majority would cast them for McShane and the rest of our candidates.'"

Neutral tone. Four newspapers kept bias out of their reporting and headlines, and used editorial space to explore the implications of suffrage rather than to stand up and cheer about its enactment. They were the *New York Times*, the Chicago *Daily Tribune*, the *Washington Post*, and the New York *Tribune*.

The *New York Times* ran one short editorial (August 27, p. 10) on suffrage, titled "Segregation Would Be Disastrous." Its point was to support Carrie Chapman Catt's urging of women to join existing political parties and to caution against "the terrible mistake of trying to form a separate party of their own."

The Chicago *Daily Tribune* commented indirectly on suffrage in an editorial, "The Best Man" (August 29, p. 8). It dealt mainly with the depravity of politics.

The *Washington Post* ran two editorials on suffrage. One, on August 27, titled "Suffrage a Fact," described the last-minute but unsuccessful blocking tactics used by the *antis*. It concluded, "The world will watch with interest their [women's] course in future years"—expressing neither support for nor opposition to the amendment. Another editorial appeared on August 28.

The New York *Tribune* confined its editorial-page comment to a cartoon (see Figure 2). Rather than coming down for or against

suffrage, it poked fun at the simplistic overreaction of those who think any woman—like the calm-looking person in the center of the room—will be changed overnight, whether for good or ill, by being able to vote.

Table 2 combines the above groupings with the previously discussed groupings according to prominence on the news agenda. The medium/neutral cell contains the most newspapers (three); three cells remain empty.

DISCUSSION

This study should engage our attention not so much for the questions it answers as for those it suggests. By the time, in 1920, that thirty-six states had ratified the amendment granting women the vote, suffrage was no longer a fringe-group topic which (a) got short shrift on the news agenda (prominence) or (b) so challenged the status quo that newspapers reacted negatively to it (tone). But little else can be stated with certainty.

Newspapers' differences. One important remaining question concerns different patterns in coverage of suffrage among the newspapers we studied. With a sample of ten, we can offer only tentative reasons for high vs. low prominence on the news agenda and positive vs. negative tone. First, there is no apparent relation between type of coverage and region. Each of the three Southern papers is in a different cell, as is each of the three Northeastern ones. Sharing the same cell, the *Christian Science Monitor*, a national paper published in Boston, has a great deal in common with the San Francisco *Chronicle*, which calls itself the "leading newspaper of the Pacific Coast" (see Table 1).

Second, there is no relation between status of the Nineteenth Amendment in a newspaper's home state and coverage of that amendment. Appendix 2 lists the dates when the legislatures in the states whose newspapers we are looking at either passed or defeated the amendment. We might expect heavier coverage in those states where the amendment was a "hot" (i.e., more recent) issue. However, this is not the case. For example, New York and Illinois passed the amendment early in its journey toward acceptance by thirty-six states—in June, 1919; indeed, New York was the fourth, and Illinois the fifth, state to ratify. Still, one New York paper (the *Times*) and one Illinois paper (the Chicago *Daily Tribune*) gave some of the heaviest coverage of the papers in this study.

Third, similar patterns of coverage do not exist in states with similar legislative results. For example, both Virginia and Louisiana defeated the amendment relatively late in its career, in

February and June of 1920. But the Virginia newspaper (the *Times-Dispatch*) exhibited a medium-volume/negative-tone pattern, while the Louisiana paper (the *Times-Picayune*) showed a medium-volume/positive-tone pattern. Furthermore, the Louisiana and Kentucky newspapers share the same cell, but in the political arena the amendment passed in Kentucky but was defeated in Louisiana. Thus we are left with little but some ideas on what did *not* cause individual differences.

Entry onto agenda. Kessler found a definable point in time (1904-5) when suffrage literally burst onto the agenda; seven years later, Oregon's male voters approved statewide suffrage for women.[22] But the many differences between suffrage in Oregon and national suffrage make analogies futile: a statewide referendum for all voters (Oregon) vs. votes in state legislatures; a decision (in 1912) running counter to national policy vs. legislative votes in accord with the action of Congress (which passed the Nineteenth Amendment in 1918); a one-stage process (the Oregon referendum) vs. a two-stage process (passage by Congress, then by each state legislature).

Would national suffrage enter each local newspaper's agenda at about the same time (perhaps eight or nine years before the Senate passed the amendment—about 1910)? Or would it enter when statewide suffrage was debated and simply remain? Would the entry be attached to a specific event (local or national) and thus be well defined? Or would coverage just gradually increase?

The *Oregonian* opposed suffrage in its editorials even after it added suffrage to is news agenda.[23] For other papers, did editorial opposition change to neutrality or support after the addition of suffrage to the news agenda? Did silence simply replace opposition, or did editorial stance remain unchanged over time? The dearth of research over time on the progress of suffrage from fringe-group idea to page-1 news makes speculation difficult.

The ERA and suffrage. Some observers draw parallels between the fight for suffrage amendment (a key issue of the First Wave of feminism) and the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment (a key issue of the Second Wave of feminism).[24] But the analogy is extremely shaky. The legislative history differs markedly; for example, ratification of suffrage took just over a year, but the ERA has been in the ratification process since 1972.

Whether or not press treatment of the two amendments also differs is unclear. In a study of sixty-one editorials on the ERA in twenty-eight Southern newspapers from 1970 to 1977, Jarrard found 59.02% to be conservative (i.e., negative), 36.07% liberal (i.e., positive), and 4.91% neutral.[25] The majority opinion in the editorials was negative, just as the majority of legislatures in the twelve

Southern states have voted against the ERA (only Texas and Kentucky have approved it). But Jarrard's limited sample (e.g., the pro-ERA Atlanta *Constitution* was the only paper chosen from Georgia) make generalizations impossible. Likewise, although the newspapers in this suffrage study suggest *no* relation between editorial support for suffrage and action in state legislatures, we likewise cannot generalize.

Besides presenting three areas in need of further study, perhaps the main contribution of this paper is the proposal of seven discretionary coverage measures whereby (1) newspapers can be compared using one event as a focus for coverage and (2) strengths of individual facets of coverage can be compared with mean scores (see Table 1). The possibilities of applications include a study of domestic issues such as the ERA or foreign policy issues such as Camp David, fighting in El Salvador, or the election of Mitterand.

APPENDIX 1

The Nineteenth Amendment: A Chronology

1647 Margaret Brent of Maryland, property holder, asks to vote in legislature

1848 Seneca Falls (N.Y.) Women's Rights Convention

1869 National Woman Suffrage Association founded by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony
Wyoming first state to enfranchise women (by 1918, number reaches 20)

1890 National American Woman Suffrage Association founded; Stanton first president

1915 Alice Paul organizes Women's Party

1918 (Jan. 10) Jeannette Rankin, first woman member of Congress (from Montana) introduces suffrage amendment into House; passes by one vote.

1919 Six more states enfranchise women
(June 4) U.S. Senate passes amendment
(June 10) Wisconsin first state to ratify

1920 (March 25) Washington 35th state to ratify
(June 24) President Wilson urges Tennessee to hold special session
(Aug. 9) Tennessee special legislative session convenes
(Aug. 10) Tennessee Senate passes amendment
(Aug. 18) Tennessee House passes amendment, 49 to 47

(Aug. 21) Motion to reconsider introduced and defeated
(Aug. 24) Gov. Roberts mails certificate of ratification to Colby
(Aug. 25) American Constitutional League official files suit in D.C. to enjoin Colby from signing; District judge hears arguments in his chamber and refuses to issue a show-cause order to summon Colby to court
(Aug. 26) 1:40 a.m.—train carrying certification arrives in D.C.
3 a.m.—Colby finishes breakfast then signs proclamation promulgating Nineteenth Amendment at law
President Wilson receives Carrie Chapman Catt
Catt speaks and Colby reads message from Wilson at D.C. rally
(Aug. 27) Catt arrives in New York by train
Warren G. Harding receives delegation of women in Marion, Ohio
(Aug. 28) Chicago "doffs hat" to women with noon parade in Loop

APPENDIX 2

Dates of Nineteenth Amendment's Passage Defeat in Eight States

Newspaper in study	State	Date	Action
New York Times	NY	June 16, 1919	Passed
New York *Tribune*			
Chicago Daily *Tribune*	IL	June 17, 1919	Passed
*Christian Science Monitor**	MA	June 25, 1919	Passed
San Francisco *Chronicle*	CA	Nov. 1, 1919	Passed
(Louisville) *Courier-Journal*	KY	Jan. 9, 1920	Passed
Richmond *Times-Dispatch*	VA	Feb. 12, 1920	Defeated
(New Orleans) *Times-Picayune*	LA	June 15, 1920	Defeated
(Raleigh) *News and Observer*	NC	NO ACTION	

*The *Christian Science Monitor* is a national newspaper published in Boston.

TABLE 1

The Suffrage Story:
Prominence on the Agenda of Ten Daily Newspapers

CRITERION	MEAN SCORE	Raleigh *News & Observer*	Louisville *Courier-Journal*	New York *Times*	Chicago *Daily Tribune*
1. Page 1	2.6	4	3	3	2
2. Headlines	6.1	14	6	4	5
3. Own Bureau	2.8	4	4	6	2
4. # Stories	8.5	11	6	17	9
5. Local Angle	5.4	3	6	3	15
6. Editorials	6.0	15	10	5	5
7. Cartoons	1.5	0*	5	0*	0*
Total Score		**51**	**40**	**38**	**38**

Washington Post	Richmond *Times-Dispatch*	New Orleans *Times-Picayune*	New York *Tribune*	San Francisco *Chronicle*	*Christian Science Monitor*
3	4	3	2	1*	1*
4	12	9	4	1*	2
4	0*	0*	4	2	2
9	14	8	9	1*	1*
6	6	9	6	0*	0*
10	0*	5	0*	5	5
0*	0*	0*	5	5	0*
36	**36**	**34**	**30**	**15**	**11**

Notes: underline indicates high score
*asterick indicates low score

TABLE 2

The Suffrage Story: Prominence and Tone of Ten Dailies' Coverage

Prominence

TONE	Low	Medium	High
Positive	*Christian Science Monitor* (11) San Francisco *Chronicle* (15)	(New Orleans) *Times-Picayune* (34) (Louisville) *Courier-Journal* (40)	(Raleigh) *News and Observer* (51)
Neutral	New York *Tribune* (30)	*Washington Post* (36) Chicago *Daily Tribune* (38) *New York Times* (38)	
Negative		Richmond *Times-Dispatch* (36)	

*Score based on seven criteria of discretionary treatment

Notes

[1] Quoted in Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (New York: Atheneum, 1973), p. xiii.

[2] For example: Elizabeth Evans, *Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution* (New York: Scribner's, 1975); Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women 1607-1950* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971); Anne Firor Scott, ed., *The American Woman: Who Was She?* (Englewook Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (New York: Norton, 1972. Orig. pub. 1938); Ruth Warren, *A Pictorial History of Women in America* (New York: Crown, 1975); and Bell Irvin Wiley, *Confederate Women* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975).

[3] Linda Charlton, "Women's History Meeting Analyzes Trends," *New York Times*, 21 June 1981, p. 51.

[4] Nan Robertson, "Libraries on History of Women Busy and Growing," *New York Times*, 5 Jan. 1981, pp. 1 and B10.

[5] Andrea Hinding, *Women's History Sources: A Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections in the United States* (New York: Bowker, 1979).

[6] Pamphlet issued by the National Women's Studies Association, University of Maryland, College Park.

[7] Charlton, p. 51.

[8] John Tebbel, *The Media in America* (New York: Mentor, 1974), p. 171.

[9] Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.Y.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 229.

[10] Calder Pickett, *Voices of the Past: Key Documents in the History of American Journalism* (Columbus: Grid, 1977).

[11] Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977), pp. 44-45.

[12] Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Women in the Media: A Documentary Source Book* (Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1977), ch. 6.

[13] A notable exception is Lauren Kessler, "The Ideas of Woman Suffragists and the Portland *Oregonian*," *Journalism Quarterly* 57 (winter, 1980), p. 4.

[14] For example, Flexner, p. xiii.

[15] Kessler, p. 599.

[16] *Ibid.*,p. 597.

[17] David Paul Nord, "Politics of Agenda Setting in Late 19th Century Cities," *Journalism Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (winter, 1981), 574.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 574.

[19] Kessler, p. 605.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 602.

[21] Donald Shaw, "News Bias and the Telegraph: A study of Historical Change," *Journalism Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (spring, 1967), 3-12.

[22] Kessler, p. 600.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 605.

[24] See, for example, comment by Kathleen Currie of ERA America in George Merry, "ERA Forces Still on Offensive, but Battle Seems All but Lost," *Christian Science Monitor*, 11 March 1982, p. 7.

[25] Mary W. Jarrard, "Emerging ERA Patterns in Editorials in Southern Daily Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (winter, 1980), 608.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan. *By Daniel J. Czitrom.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1982. 254 pp. Cloth, $19.95; paper, $7.95.

This well-written study attempts an intellectual history of modern communication, exploring the social context of media development since the early nineteenth century. Major issues addressed include how Americans' attempts "to comprehend the impact of modern communication" have evolved since the mid-1900's, and how these efforts figure in "the larger realm of American social thought." Czitrom also examines the link between these ideas and evolving communications technologies and institutions, and the role that "early popular responses" played in "the development of new media forms."

Part one examines contemporary responses, especially popular, to three new media: the telegraph, the motion picture, and the radio. Czitrom starts with the telegraph because it "opened the age of electronic media" and represents "the first separation of communication from transportation." Extravagant predictions were made for the "lightning lines": part of Manifest Destiny, they would serve to unify the Republic. But primarily, Czitrom shows, the telegraph served to modernize the press and commercial systems.

He next discusses the contemporary response to the motion picture, a "startling new form of popular culture" which "challenged the received notions of culture itself." Unlike the telegraph, the motion picture was not greeted with consistent praise; but certainly, Czitrom tells us, it affected everyday lives "far more viscerally and immediately than the much heralded telegraph."

Finally, Czitrom describes the debut of radio, which signified the rise of broadcasting, modern communication's "most powerful and ubiquitous form." Stressing the marriage of radio and advertising, he argues that radio served to "publicize and commercialize previously isolated kinds of American folk music," such as country and western and the blues, thus toppling "formidable geographic

and racial barriers that had separated" American folk music's "various rich veins."

Part one seems to offer little that has not been said elsewhere in one way or another, although Czitrom says it in an interesting fashion, and in one place. Of far greater value is part two, which analyzes the three major traditions in American thought that have examined modern media's impact. Chapter four is perhaps the best in the book, providing a well-reasoned, provocative analysis of the thought of the Progressive trio of Charles Horton Cooley, John Dewey, and Robert Park, the first to view communications media comprehensively, as a social force. All three generally viewed modern communication as an antidote to the twin stresses of the late nineteenth century, industrialization and urbanization. Deftly comparing and contrasting their viewpoints, Czitrom concludes that Dewey's vision of modern communication had the "greatest scope," although his perennial "ambivalence toward social planning" prevented him from giving any specific suggestions as to "just how we might transform privately owned media of communication into truly common carriers."

The next chapter provides a solid historical survey of their followers, the empirically oriented, behavioral effects researchers who so dominated American communication study from 1930 to 1960. Finally, Czitrom analyzes the media theories of Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan, who both ascribed central importance in the historical process to changes in communications technology.

In his "Epilogue," Czitrom points out the discrepancy between the progressive opportunities that the new media technologies have offered and their actual use as agents of exploitation and domination. Especially in the broadcasting media, he argues, the "authority of advertising" has promoted the "consumption ethic as the supreme virtue," thereby establishing cultural parameters. Yet such domination is neither as "total" nor as "complete" as it seems, he adds, restating the example of radio's "cross-fertilization of popular (but hitherto localized) musical forms." He ends on a compelling but lamentably brief note, calling for "the recovery of historical perspective" through the exposing of the "hidden political and social agenda attending technological progress"—a perspective that will help us understand the impact of the new cable, video, and satellite technologies.

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Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness. *By Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1982. 312 pp. Paper, $7.95.

Criticisms of mass culture and the capitalist ideology embodied in commercial expressions are vulnerable to an embarrassing contradiction: the exposure of private interests in the public sphere often fails to reveal the apologia hidden in the critique itself. *Channels of Desire* blushes with such an embarrassment.

Marxian in rhetoric and rationale, the book attempts to probe the social history that undergirds industrial consumer society. It proffers an analysis of mass-mediated commercial images and the patterns of perception and social production such images have allegedly formed. The analysis traces the transformation of American agrarian society into an industrial giant that altered popular concepts of value and identity. Ewen and Ewen examine, in turn, the role of film in the acculturation of immigrants, the shaping of consumer consciousness through the clothing and fashion industries, and the drafting of media images for military service. In sum, *Channels of Desire* confronts the contradictions of capitalist culture with a dual purpose: first, to expose the transparent ideology of dominant cultural imagery, and second, to refute the mythic character of technologies and media that fuels the exploitative powers of capitalist interests in the social, cultural, and political spheres.

This dual purpose precipitates unwittingly a *counter*-ideology never unmasked by the authors. Resting smugly beneath the objectivistic critique of capitalistic culture lurks a hidden apologia: to reduce the societal and social to the symbolic and thus regress toward idealism. The tendency of the authors to examine the part (the symbolic level) as if it were the whole (the social and cultural levels) reveals the partiality of their critique and the partisan interests from which it springs. Their failure to unmask their own apologia with the same rigor spent in critique of capitalist ideology exposes their own ideology and contradictory efforts.

Moreover, the book stumbles over its own contradictions. It stumbles, first, on its tendency to substitute Marxian rhetoric and pronouncements for rigorous cultural analysis. The authors simply inform the reader that patterns of life emerge from their selected slices of the American experience. Why these experiences and not others were chosen is not explained. The method of analysis that "discovers" these patterns also remains transparent. One must make a leap of faith to be convinced in the veracity of the authors' conclusions.

Leaps of logic made by the authors, however, should give readers pause. Beginning with a loose-knit analysis of the captains of commercial expression and the mass images conjured by their marketing managers, Ewen and Ewen jump to *non sequitur* conclusions about the popular cultural consciousness. The cultural expressions and artifacts of the working class find only cursory attention in this supposed cultural analysis. The powerlessness of the masses before the powerful media is assumed by the authors, not demonstrated.

A second, more annoying contradiction is the shameless exploitation of Madison Avenue tricks incorporated into the book for marketing purposes. At one time, the book presents itself as serious critical scholarship and prostitutes itself to cutsie marketing gimmicks. Division titles alone reveal the dominance of gimmick: "The Bride of Frankenstein," "The Sirens of Style," "The Backrooms of Fashion," *ad nauseum*. From the front cover's slice of cheesecake to the final chapter, "Billboards of the Future," the book embodies exploitation of the critique of exploitation.

The book even exploits women. Appearing in what amounts to a centerfold, women modelling skimpy lingerie are displayed prominently in the only two photos in the book. The text condemns sexual exploitation by advertisers; the photos exploit cheesecake to market the book itself. No doubt the publisher, perhaps more than the authors, had a hand in this lapse of judgment: the book is published by McGraw-Hill, the multinational publishing giant whose profits are drawn from a wide array of marketing and advertising "how-to" textbooks used to train the future captains of commercial image-making.

Channels of Desire not only embarrasses itself with these contradictions, but it also embarrasses the cause of critical historical scholarship. Despite all its shortcomings, the book does examine the foundations of media commercialism and mass culture without lapsing into depoliticized antiquarian irrelevance. The book asks hard questions but does not work hard at seeking honest answers. Its substitutions of cheesecake for another biography of some media "giant," or Marxian rhetoric for Progressive fluff about a new technology are not worthy of the critical agenda established by the authors.

The absence of a critical *self*-consciousness in historical research simply leaves the platform open to ideologues of the left and the right. *Channels of Desire* demonstates that ideologues of the left can be as myopic and self-serving as those on the right.

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Hollywood as Historian: American Film in a Cultural Context. *By Peter C. Rollins.* Lexington, University: Press of Kentucky, 1983. 276 pp. Cloth, $26; paper, $10.

These essays examine the crossroads of American history and film. The authors study the documentary films that have made history, as well as the ways in which entertainment films have portrayed historical events and figures. This is a rather slim volume for such a weighty subject, and it is a far cry from being the last word. But Rollins and company do a good job of looking at the influence of film on the American mind. It is Rollins's notion, as stated in the introduction, that without "intending to act the role of historian, Hollywood has often become an unwitting recorder of national moods."

Perhaps the best example of a film that recorded national moods and obsessions is Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb.* The film is obviously fiction—after all, it portrays the end of the world. But Charles Maland's essay catalogues the late 1950's/early 1960's truths in the film—the well-meaning but ineffectual liberal (an Adlai Stevenson-type President named Merkin Muffley, portrayed by Peter Sellers), the irrational commie-hater (Gen. Jack D. Ripper, who rants about commie-inspired fluoridation perverting his "precious bodily fluids"), and the national love/hate relationship with technology (the pilot can handle the murderous technology that will end the world; but the film's hero, Capt. Lionel Mandrake, cannot stop the bombers because he doesn't have a dime for the pay phone).

Strangelove reflected history. *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* made history. The Production Code Administration had held an iron hand over Hollywood's head for decades and was effectively rubbed out by *Virginia Woolf.* The stars (Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton), the director (Mike Nichols), and the producer (Jack Warner) all demanded fidelity to Edward Albee's play and refused to excise the language the PCA found offensive. The PCA put up a battle, but the filmmakers won. The PCA went down the path to extinction, and a system of movie ratings was begun.

A few essays consider historical films. The movie that gets the highest marks is *Wilson,* a 1944 extravaganza about the 28th President. Producer Darryl F. Zanuck went to enormous lengths to ensure historical accuracy of the film; yet he did allow a fictionalized character here and there—a composite that allowed the screenwriter to streamline the bulky cast. (In Hollywood's pantheon of historical films, having only one or two composite characters is called going to enormous lengths for historical accuracy.)

Wilson is significant on another level. Zanuck hoped the film would raise the political consciousness of the nation. He produced it

in the last year of the Second World War and focused the last third of the film on Wilson's struggle to sell the League of Nations to the American people. Zanuck wanted Americans to see the "error of their ways" and throw their support behind the United Nations idea.

Kenneth Hey's *On the Waterfront* essay is also interesting. Several of the principals in the film—director Elia Kazan, writer Budd Schulberg, actor Lee J. Cobb—had been friendly witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and were scorned by fellow liberals for denouncing communism. They worked out their guilt with this film, using a corrupt waterfront union as a metaphor for the communist party.

The book touches on several film areas and includes detailed discussions of *The Birth of a Nation, The Grapes of Wrath, The Snake Pit,* and *Apocalypse Now.* Robert Sklar's *Movie-Made America* (Random House, 1975) is a more detailed discussion of the relationship between film and history, but this book of essays is recommended reading for anyone concerned with the influence of popular culture on the public perception of history.

William McKeen
University of Oklahoma

Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881. *By David Fridtjof Halaas.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. 146 pp. Cloth, $14.95.

Ragged, rough, and feisty, the press of the Rocky Mountain mining camps played a vital role on the frontier. Functioning alternately as town booster and town scold, it brought permanency and culture to the mining settlements.

In *Boom Town Newspapers,* David Fridtjof Halaas of the Colorado State Historical Society describes the fruits of his excursions into Gold Rush newspaper archives from Arizona to Montana. In a readable narrative geared simultaneously toward the scholar and the general reader, Halaas sumarizes the common purposes he glimpsed among hundreds of Rocky Mountain editors: to bring a "semblance of order and permanency" to the often rowdy, transient camps; to encourage westward immigration; and to "encourage the introduction of those economic, social and political institutions" that would best facilitate future growth.

Boom town papers were characterized by a "frenzied," nervously vital tone, as the local editor "bombarded town dwellers with urgent appeals" for law and order, for better and cleaner streets, for

the founding of churches, schools, libraries, and other manifestations of cultured civilization. Alternately praising and berating their townspeople, the Rocky Mountain frontier editors were influential opinion leaders. Many camp papers could boast of from two hundred to one thousand subscribers, and the actual number of readers was of course higher. Contemporary letters and diaries convinced Halaas that westerners regularly sent their local papers to eastern friends and relatives. Editors also shipped copies of their papers to the East, where they were snapped up by prospective immigrants.

To appeal to such a diverse audience was the special challenge of the Rocky Mountain boom town editors. Most were relatively young when they traveled to the goldfields to practice their craft; few had much formal, academic schooling. Some were rank newcomers to the profession of journalism—former school-teachers, army officers, speculators, ex-miners, Indian agents, merchants, and clergymen. If frontier editors had any background in journalism, it was not as editors or writers, but as journeymen printers, typesetters, compositors—throwbacks to the early colonial printer-editors.

Indeed, in many ways the Rocky Mountain boom town papers Halaas describes show striking similarities to the fledgling publications of the early colonial seaboard (although he makes surprisingly little of the weight of this evidence). Both boom town and early colonial journalism answered a burgeoning entrepreneurial class's thirst for news and advertising space—and suffered under the primitive living and working conditions of the frontier. Halaas found that sometimes as much as half the space in the boom town papers was devoted to advertising, not only to provide revenue and a mercantile forum but also to encourage immigration to a land portrayed as prosperous. The isolation of the camps and frontier transportation inefficiencies often delayed timely news for months, just as it had been delayed in the colonial papers.

Under the mining camps' frontier conditions, many papers were issued out of dank cellars, leaky attics, "dingy back rooms," "miserable cabins," and "adobe holes-in-the-wall." Most papers, printed laboriously on the Washington hand presses of an earlier era, evinced the anachronistic tradition of personal journalism. While personal journalism was dissipating everywhere else, it seemed peculiarly suited to the needs and ambitions of the camp press editors as they sought to define issues of crucial importance to all residents in the boom towns and exercise a unifying influence. Like the shopkeepers, the supply dealers, and other business people, the frontier editors depended for their livelihood upon the success of the mining camps they served and their promise for the future. And

so from the start, boom town editors functioned as chambers of commerce. They promoted their regions almost shamelessly, striving to attract immigration and eastern capital. One thinks again of the early New World promotion literature. Not surprisingly, boom town editors often became intensely involved in the internal activities of their chosen communities, functioning as all-around camp boosters.

Halaas's sketch of Rocky Mountain frontier newspapers is vivid, witty, and well documented. He obviously sifted through mountains of material to produce a lucid, detailed study. One only wishes he had pushed his analysis a bit more by posing questions that would have yielded a view of greater breadth; or at least that he had fully exploited his wealth of evidence. Halaas's bibliography indicates he either overlooked or is unfamiliar with some of the excellent theoretical studies in frontier communication that have emerged in the last decade or so (among them, Hazel Dicken-Garcia's). Nor does he make any real comparisons with the time-honored studies he does cite. He also seems out of touch with other contemporary communication history sources, relying, for example, upon the penny press interpretations of James Melvin Lee and Frank Luther Mott.

While *Boom Town Newspapers* is inadequate in interpretation, it nevertheless presents a richly detailed characterization of the Rocky Mountain mining newspapers. It remains for these fascinating, useful, but sometimes tangled facts to be organized into an interpretive tapestry.

Nancy L. Roberts
University of Rhode Island

Buying the Night Flight: The Autobiography of a Woman Foreign Correspondent. *By Georgie Anne Geyer.* New York: Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence, 1983. 331 pp. Cloth, $16.95.

This is the story of Georgie Anne Geyer and, mostly, her experiences as a foreign correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News.* It is an autobiography only in the weakest sense of the word, because Geyer spends just fourteen pages on her life before she joined the *News* in 1960 and only ten pages on her life after she decided to stop "buying the night flight" and became a columnist in the mid-1970's. She spends the bulk of her efforts, quite rightly, in describing a number of things about her experiences throughout the world.

She describes covering the revolution in Santo Domingo in 1965. She visits the guerillas in Guatemala and interviews Fidel Castro in Cuba in 1966. She fends off the attentions of a drunken

Russian in the Soviet Union in 1967. She tells Prince Norodom Sihanouk, falsely, that she's an American tourist in Cambodia in 1967 to get an interview. She's in Bolivia in 1968, searching for Che Guevara's diary. She travels to the Middle East in 1969 to interview Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization and to hear an Israeli call her an "Arab lover" after her trips to Moslem countries. She interviews Khomeini in Paris in 1978 before his rise to power in Iran.

All of this is interesting and, sometimes, exciting stuff, not only because Geyer describes how she went about the business of being a foreign correspondent but also because she provides enough information and analysis about the events she covered to help the reader understand the situation. It's especially helpful if the reader is like most American newspaper readers of the 1960's and 1970's, the reader who simply didn't pay much attention to what was happening in the Third World.

It's doubtful, however, that many instructors of journalism history courses, especially those who try to cover 300 years or more in a single semester, will be willing to spend much time describing Geyer's exploits. Not when there are people like Dorothy Thompson and Vincent Sheean to talk about. Nevertheless Geyer describes a number of things that will interest the journalism history teacher.

She tells, for example, what it was like to work for a major metropolitan newspaper in the 1960's and, especially, what it was like to be a *woman* working for a major metropolitan newspaper in the 1960's.

> It was a journalism quite unlike journalism today. We quite simply "reported" what was going on. We did not write columns or our own personal interpretations on the news pages. We reported fires and murders and investigations and the statements of institutions. It was a much straighter and much more honest job then, and it was also a hell of a lot of fun (p. 40).

She also notes that the relationships among the reporters were different from the *Washington Post* style of "'creative tension,' in which everybody is pitted against everyone else and everybody ends up hating everybody else." I don't think that every newspaper in the country, or even most of them, has yet adopted the *Post's* style, but Geyer does a good job of conveying the feeling of camaraderie that a lot of us remember of our own newspaper work.

At the same time, Geyer recognized that she was a woman in what was basically a man's business, and she recognized that that had advantages and disadvantages. She discovered, for example,

that men seem more at ease with a woman interviewer. "They sit there and sooner or later everything pours out," she writes. "Men forget that they are with a journalist and respond as they do to women who have always and throughout all time been the listeners and the comforters." To her credit, Geyer recognized the advantage that her sex could have and decided, among other things, never to use it to her advantage. She also learned, however, that her sex could work against her, especially when male reporters tried to explain to themselves why she was getting stories that they seemed unable to get. As is fitting for a writer whose book is included in a series published in response to a greater interest in the female experience, Geyer tries to understand what happened to her and the changes that took place in her in terms of the sexual revolution.

> In a sense I suppose I was an interim woman journalist—a creature between the harder, tougher, and basically anti-feminine generation of a few women journalists just before me, and the more fully liberated and very female reporters of today (p. 66).

Geyer, of course, also tells what it was like to be a foreign correspondent during the 1960's and early 1970's. How *do* you make contact with guerillas and terrorists? How *do* you deal with them and write about them and manage to stay alive with them at the same time? How *do* you pick up information in a closed society like the Soviet Union and communist Poland? Geyer answers all of these questions and more, but she also writes about the role of the foreign correspondent and how it has changed over the years.

> During these years the correspondent's role was changing. Diplomats could not get to these revolutionaries, for the revolutionaries blamed them for their problems. We had become the new diplomats—the new intermediaries in the world—the surrogates for nations. And the diplomats—the good ones—were jealous (p. 195).

Journalists, of course, have been used throughout history as go-betweens on the international scene. But perhaps because the relationship was no longer between diplomat and diplomat but between diplomat and revolutionary and/or terrorist, Geyer *did* notice something new.

There was certainly no question that covering wars had changed from the romantic 1930's. "For in these dark new wars there were no borders," Geyer writes. "There were no recognized civilians—indeed the 'civilians' became the deliberate targets.

There were no respected neutrals, most definitely including journalists." And here *was* something new—not the foreign correspondent as the innocent bystander but as the deliberately sought-out victim. Geyer wrote about it most eloquently in one of her newspaper dispatches:

> To die in Spain was to be a hero to the generations. To die in Beirut was to die without benefit of clergy, embassy or even public note. To die in Beirut is, for a journalist, moreover, to die with your story on Page 13 and your death notice on Page 27 (p. 271).

The stark reality of the job is here, but so is its excitement, its meaning and its beauty. Geyer devised the title of her book to describe the joys of the job. The quote is from the pioneer French aviator who turned his experiences into lyrical novels, Antoine de Saint-Exupery. "There is no buying the night flight, with its hundred thousand stars, its serenity and its moment of sovereignty." Geyer on p. 318 continues the thought in her own words:

> It is something you can only earn, something you find only in yourself, create only for yourself, and ultimately interpret only for yourself. It goes only to those willing to risk their comfort and their lives and their sacred honor for it. In this, as in so many aspects, it is like a very great love—and everyone has some of the night flight inside herself.

Michael Buchholz
Oklahoma State University

The Interplay of Influence: Mass Media and Their Publics in News, Advertising, Politics. *By Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Karlyn Kohrs Campbell.* Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1982. 277 pp. Paper, $11.95.

In an afterword, Professors Jamieson and Campbell explain why they considered *Manipulating Media* a better title for their television-oriented text. They believe the ambiguous phrase reflects the dual perspective they have taken on a subject which needs constant review by teachers, students, professionals, and consumers. Mass media manipulate their publics. More important (but to a lesser degree) the public may also influence the media.

The authors, from the University of Maryland and University of Kansas, do a good job of describing the complex process of reciprocal influence of news, advertising, and politics between the

powerful and the near powerless consumer and voter. After defining the distinctive characteristics of mass communication, audiences, and news, the authors provide examples and extended case studies of the use of news as persuasion, as well as advertising, persuasion through advertising, and news and advertising in the political campaign. Other chapters discuss ratings and revenues and the minimal impact of self-regulation and government guidance on the media. In sum, these chapters underscore the commercial character of the U.S. mass media and the tendency of any mass media system to affirm establishment values.

On the consumer side of the fence, five chapters discuss how newsmakers can influence the news media through journalistic norms and routines, commercial pressures, political pressure, ratings, and legislative pressure. In the end, the authors recognize that resource-poor individuals and groups are at a severe disadvantage. Under most circumstances, in order to be newsworthy, those lacking resources are forced to engage in acts that violate social norms, acts likely to provoke social condemnation.

A major advantage of the text is that it synthesizes, but presents in a more readable format, much information particularly helpful for candidates and voters in political campaigns. This strong focus on strategies is an outgrowth of Professor Jamieson's position as former director of the House Committee on Aging. Of particular interest are the case histories of successful Florida gubernatorial candidate Bob Graham and unsuccessful Presidential candidate Jerry Brown, who provide examples of what to do and what not to do in political campaigns. The text can be used in such courses as introduction to broadcasting, mass media and society, television and politics, and rhetoric of the mass media. It is well indexed with helpful graphics, illustrations, and anecdotes. The authors will also provide instructors with a ¾ inch color videotape, "A Rhetoric of the Mass Media," for classes.

A minor flaw may be that the authors do not go far enough in warning consumers about the implications of the ongoing efforts to deregulate the broadcast industry and how this would further inhibit access to the power structure. If anything, this timely text reminds us of the overwhelming tilt of the present system in favor of the establishment and commercial interests and the lesser impact of those outside of the system. Notwithstanding this oversight, *The Interplay of Influence* should be widely read and discussed by students and consumers concerned about their influence or lack of influence in the complex world of news, advertising, and politics.

Alf Pratte
Shippensburg State College

Florida Media Law. *By Donna Lee Dickerson.* Tampa: University Presses of Florida, 1982. 196 pp. Paper, $15.00.

An argument could be made that mass communication law textbooks used in U.S. journalism schools fail to include much of the most practical material that public affairs reporters need to understand law as it applies to their day-to-day activities.

First, reporters and editors need to know law governing freedom of information that is promulgated in state legislatures and interpreted in state courts. Press law books written for national audiences tend to favor discussions of the federal Freedom of Information Act and the Government in the Sunshine Act. Most journalists probably never invoke such laws.

Second, not since the constitutionalization of the law of libel and invasion of privacy by the U.S. Supreme Court in the middle and late 1960's, have the states had as much control over these torts as they apply to the workaday world of journalists. The half dozen or so popular press law books necessarily limit themselves to discussions of the federal status of the law and the Burger Court's trends, beginning with *Gertz v. Welch* in 1974.

Third, the other areas traditionally treated in media law books—for example, fair trial-free press conflicts, journalistic privilege, obscenity, and news gathering—while not without their First Amendment implications, are primarily dealt with at state, not federal, courts.

Last, lower courts, impact studies of the judicial process show, frequently do not follow the dictates of the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, which has been forced to settle with the still-enviable role of setting board social policy, not adjudicating individual cases whose ultimate resolutions reside on remand in lower courts and set precedent for those states. The Supreme Court, in addition, simply does not have the capacity to resolve all disputes affecting journalistic activities. Lower court decisions are more likely to do that.

For professors of media law, the remedy for the inadequacy of the national law books which, at best, provide examples of how states respond to these issues, has been to supplement the course text with handouts explaining local and state positions. For local law to be treated at least as well as the federal material, however, another book would be required.

If a trickle of three such books in the past ten years can constitute a trend, then Donna Lee Dickerson's *Florida Media Law* is the latest in the series (all by journalism professors) and comparably commendable. Florida is a media-rich and litigious state, and Dickerson's analysis demonstrates the point that Florida journalists

would flounder if they were to depend on only the national casebooks.

Appendices containing the state libel and open meetings and open records statutes nicely complement a palatable yet thoroughly documented explication of the law of libel, invasion of privacy, journalistic privilege, fair trial-free press, and freedom of information in a conceptually independent and thoughtful organization. Dickerson, in short, unpretentiously delivers on her preface's promise to provide "the editor, news reporter, public official, attorney, or student of media law an exhaustive yet readable guide to the law of the press in this state."

Stressing state case law, however, does not preclude discussion of federal laws and cases. Dickerson and the other state law book authors are forced to discuss state applications of, for example, U.S. Supreme Court decisions. To accomplish this properly, a book nearly twice the size of the already massive national books would be required. Short of that, concise summaries of the federal law have to suffice, and Dickerson does a good job at that.

Of course, Dickerson and other legal scholars suffer a common ailment: the highly prolific legal system. Law books no sooner hit the market than the law has changed—sometimes dramatically. In one decision, the Supreme Court can destroy an entire chapter. Despite the new publication date, some of Dickerson's material requires updating.

A few minor complaints: Either the author or her editor has trouble remembering whether "media" is a singular or plural noun, which is a mortal sin for a media book. Pronouns in some places incorrectly refer to plural, singular, or lost antecedents. Justice Lewis Powell is in one place called William Powell (they both *are* thin men), and some poor plaintiff is said to be found "guilty of libel," which does not happen in civil law, except in a generic sense.

A historian's complaint about Dickerson's book and the other mass communication law books is also in order. Despite the similarities between legal research and historiography, law students tend to eschew historical context outside of the precedent-laden jurisprudence. With the possible exception of Harold Nelson and Dwight Teeter's *Law of Mass Communications*, the "legalists" pay too little regard to the important historical forces that mold freedom of expression in the United States. To do so is to ignore perhaps the most important predictor of the level of fulfillment of the First and Fourteenth Amendments: societal values and their impact on those who make policy affecting free speech and press.

An exhaustive history of freedom of expression in Florida is not proposed, but a chapter on the history of the state's constitutional provision and important governmental and other activities giving rise to claims for freedom of expression certainly would have been helpful.

Thomas A. Schwartz
Ohio State University

International Law Governing Communications and Information: A Collection of Basic Documents. *By Edward W. Ploman.* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982. 367 pp.

Chances are that anyone studying international laws governing communications has found that there is no coherent body of law in the field. The laws that exist are scattered and uncoordinated. Technology has accelerated the state of change in the field and compounded the confusion in its laws.

Edward W. Ploman, who directed the International Institute of Communications for the decade since 1972, provides, for the first time, a collection of the major legal instruments in international communication and information. Ploman acknowledges the absence of a generally agreed upon approach to international law on communication. Accordingly, he has constructed a quite logical framework for anyone now befuddled by the myriad overlapping subject areas in international communication law.

The author recognizes that since World War II, regulation in the field of communication and information has been built mainly on a base of human rights. Using the documents relevant to human rights as his starting point, Ploman progresses from a macro to a micro-exposition of the instruments that specifically regulate communications and information.

How does one select documents for such a collection when there is no general agreement on the status or validity of the bewildering diversity of texts, treaties, and protocals? In making his selections, Ploman begins with the premise that a law is binding only if it proceeds from a recognized source. He thus includes all major binding (and a few non-binding) instruments applicable to communication and information and texts adopted by international organizations.

Especially valuable are the short essays provided by the author at the beginning of each section. These point out important features of the legal instruments which follow and make the text of each more comprehensible.

The collection fills a need for anyone who, up to now, has had to pore through a variety of legal sources. Although intended primarily for communication lawyers, policy-makers, students and diplomats, the book is valuable for its chronological development of international law.

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Lewis L. Gould is professor of history and chairman of the department at the University of Texas at Austin. He received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1966 and is the author of several books, including *Reform and Regulation: American Politics, 1900-1916* (New York: John Wiley, 1978) and *The Presidency of William McKinley* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1980). He is currently at work on a study of "Modern First Ladies."

Frank Krompak is an assistant professor of communication at The University of Toledo. He has previously taught at The University of

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Linda Steiner is a university professor (school does not use ranks) in the Division of Communications at Governors State University, Park Forest South, Illinois, where she teaches journalism, as well as media history and theory. She attended Smith College and the University of Pennsylvania, and has her Ph.D. from the University of Illinois at Urbana.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

In this issue the editor is pleased to make two announcements. First, subsequent issues of *American Journalism* will be published at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa and will be edited by my friend and colleague William David Sloan, AJHA secretary and associate professor of journalism at the University of Alabama School of Journalism. I will continue to work with the journal as an associate editor.

This arrangement, which is subject to the approval of the AJHA Board of Directors in the annual fall meeting and which has been temporarily approved by AJHA President J. William Snorgrass, is necessitated by my impending move from the University of Central Arkansas to assume a teaching position at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

I look forward to working with professor Sloan in my new position with *American Journalism* and have every confidence that his guidance of the journal will result in the maintenance of current standards as well as in the improvement of the journal's overall quality.

Second, this issue notes the retirement of Dr. Edwin Emery of the University of Minnesota School of Journalism, who has for years been a major influence in the field of journalism history. His textbook *The Press and America*, currently coedited with Michael Emery, remains staple required reading in most undergraduate and graduate courses dealing with the history of American journalism.

Those of us who continue to work in this field do so largely by way of a recognition of Dr. Emery's leadership and influence. If the field at times seems clearly an open one, it is so by virtue of the exemplary achievements of leaders such as Emery, Mott, Kobre, and other more recent figures—all of whom have at once followed their own lights and pointed the way for others.

We trust that Dr. Emery's retirement from the University of Minnesota will not mean his retirement from the field.

Gary Whitby

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DEDICATORY STATEMENT

This issue of *American Journalism* is respectfully dedicated to Dr. Jefferson Farris, President of the University of Central Arkansas, in gratitude for his support and encouragement.

The Power in the Image: Professionalism and the "Communications Revolution"

DOUGLAS BIRKHEAD

The fundamental transition in American life during the decades that bridged the turn of the nineteenth century has been the focus of considerable historical research. Sounding the depth of this transformation are studies that have attempted to record the period from the 1880s to about 1920 in terms of a struggle for meaning. Not only was change abrupt, physical, and persuasive; but it seemed to reach a mental and moral core in society. Robert H. Wiebe's *The Search for Order* chronicled America's coming to grips with change during the period as a challenge to the organizing principles of its social identity.[1] In Henry Steele Commager's *The American Mind*, the country as a protean civilization conditioned to change by the experience of egalitarian politics, regional conflict, and the expansion of a geographical frontier nevertheless was seen in almost cosmic crisis after the mid-1880s "trying to accommodate its traditional institutions and habits of thought to conditions new and in part alien."[2]

What convulsed the basic assumptions of American society and culture also shook the conceptual foundations of its press. To begin an examination of journalism, Will Irwin wrote in 1911, is to find oneself "perplexed by a multiplicity of squirrel tracks and a scarcity of main roads."[3] Modern journalism had "burst into the world with a flair of trumpets," but crept as a Great Contradiction into the "slow consciousness" of contemporary thought.[4]

Part of the general realignment of meaning and values in America during these decades was a renegotiation of public understanding regarding journalism. This reassessment, evident in a wide discourse of press criticism and commentary, culminated in a professional argument for the press that redefined its role, structure, and practices for the twentieth century.

The professionalization of journalism was more than a movement among journalists for occupational identity and prestige. It was a comprehensive social project of reinterpretation, in large part an ideological

solution to a crisis of image for the press in the wake of industrialization. A professional interpretation or "presentation" of the press tended to mitigate a critical argument that the consequence of journalism's industrial transformation was the emerging domination of a business perspective. Professionalism as a conceptual framework for journalism offered benign meaning to a perceived revolution in communication. It reflected and extended a technological assessment of the significance of the rise of the corporate press to justify a renewed social sanction of press freedom and power.[5]

The Crisis of Image

The nineteenth-century spectacle of the "Fourth Estate" as a popular image of the press in society, as George Boyce has suggested, was that of an institutional being whose head was in politics and whose feet were in commerce.[6] The press as a democratic institution in keeping with libertarian notions of free speech, political participation and the mechanics of public opinion was a general public perception that held through the commercialization of journalism after 1835. The combination of politics and business in the role of the press was not an uneasy juxtaposition of purposes for the American public to accept for much of the century. The commercialization of the press could be defended on political grounds as engaging newspapers in the democracy of the marketplace and advancing their independence from political party or faction. As long as editors held to the purpose of serving the public opinion process as their ultimate calling, the dualism was symbolically symbiotic. The office study of the editor was an inviolate inner sanctum beyond the counting room; the business of journalism was a bodily function of an essentially intellectual existence.

As late as 1875, the growing business posture of journalism was not yet a significant source of embarrassment. The function of journalism to sell a commodity brought no particular opprobrium; indeed, the proprietor of a newspaper could make a supplementary claim of distinction on his merits as a merchant as well as a guardian of public opinion. "Probity has the same regard in public confidence," wrote Manton Marble of the New York *World*.[7] "Shrewd and farsighted combinations bring to the merchant of news—or of flour, or of pork—profit and credit."[8] The province of journalism was to inform, to teach, and "to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," offered a Missouri editor.[9]

"The recognition of the fact that the newspaper is a private and purely business enterprise will help to define the mutual relations of the editor and the public," Charles Dudley Warner of the Hartford *Courant* told a meeting of the Social Science Association in 1881.[10] Newspapers could be honorably sold as articles of value according to the principles of market demand: "If the buyer does not like a cloth half shoddy, or coffee half chicory, he will go elsewhere. If the subscriber does not like one newspaper, he takes another, or none."[11]

The talk about newspapermen as if they were brokers in a commodities exchange would shock the sensibilities of listeners as the industrialization of the press accelerated. In the 1890s Lincoln Steffens would write of such conversations in exposé fashion; in 1911 Irwin reported as an unexpected admission that "more than one editor of a newspaper without fear and

without reproach has declared to me that it is nothing but a business."[12] A critical mood developed in a relatively short period of time that redefined an open discourse on economic function into a startling disclosure of hidden truth.

By the mid-1880s, the traditional stasis in the public image of the press had been disrupted. One consequence of the industrialization of the press was extensive commentary on the apparent corruption of journalism's democratic ends by its once perfunctory commercial means. The new journalism "put the cart before the horse"; its elan had become a "mercenary spirit."[13] Boyce wrote of this experience as it occurred in a somewhat later period for the English press:

> The newspaper would appear more and more to be a mirror of the worst aspects of the capitalist world, with its transformation into a major enterprise, and the consequent emergence of the great commercial corporation. Concentration of ownership became the order of the day, and the celebrated nineteenth century figure, the editor, declined in power and prestige as the business managers came into their own. The press lost the mystique of being regarded as an estate; it was now described in down-to-earth terms as an industry.[14]

In America, this theme of criticism reflected a whole current of misgiving about the American condition gathering since the 1870s, "a pattern of complaint and concern about the results and dislocations of the new age of industrialism."[15] The capitalist domination of the press was a corollary of what became the progressive diagnosis of the American dilemma going into the twentieth century. It was a view of journalism prevalent enough among observers of the press to represent a principal thesis of interpretation of the significance and direction of journalism's industrial growth. For the press, a disconnection with the past represented a serious challenge of mission and purpose, a threat to its libertarian brand of unregulated freedom.

By the turn of the century, the financial quarter of journalism was fully exposed to criticism. That journalism had a troublesome economic dimension became virtually a cliché of analysis. "Ingenuous reformers of the press seem to think the whole question turns on the raw, obvious influence of money," observed the *Atlantic Monthly*.[16] The economic argument not only was the culmination of direct attacks on advertising as a source of influence, but consisted of conclusions that sensationalism was a marketing ploy, that publishers by nature were a capitalist breed, and that a broad alliance of business interests, including the press, was a potential threat to a free society. Indeed, virtually every evil and shortcoming perceived of journalism was attributed in some manner to its economic structure and behavior, from the "black eruption" of its typeface to the selectivity or invasion of its news coverage. Economics had turned a political regency into a "commercial thraldom," a study into a workshop, a profession into a trade.

Some critical observers viewed the condition of the press with a paralyzing nostalgia; a very few saw the situation in terms of a proletarian struggle. The central source of critical interpretation, however (if not in volume at least in the force and influence of commentary after 1900), was essentially progressive. The progressive discontent with industrial society was directed against the amoral management and display of economic

power. Despite the fervor of progressive criticism, however, the progressive impulse for reform was for self-control and rational discipline within the institutions of society, in part to counter a moral weakness and indifference perceived in the American public itself.

From progressives themselves came a counterargument to their own critical assessment of journalism's industrial debasement. In their formula for reform was a virtual concession to the principal contention of press proprietors and advocates that modern journalism signaled the rise of a vital new agency for integrating a complex society. For progressive reformers and press defenders alike, the most compelling spectacle of the press going into the twentieth century was not its economic configuration but the marvel of its mechanics. This perspective came to define the "revolution" in communication and the transformation of the press as a modern institution. Its professionalism was a process to legitimize, in management terms, the new institutional presence.

Society's New Set of Nerves

The fact that economic criticism of the press did not ultimately frame the prevailing interpretation of journalism's transformation was consistent with the meaning of change that was emerging in the whole of American culture. The tension in the basic dualism in the image of industrialization—social displacement and human degradation versus material fulfillment and the exploitation of invention and energy—was being eased by an almost spiritual attraction developing in American society toward technology. In the chaos of change and reorganization, the linear development of technology stood out as an alluring standard of progress. The contrast between the boiler and the dynamo seemed to offer a qualitative difference. The belching smokestack would not be the symbol of Western civilization, Charles and Mary Beard wrote looking back on the turn of the century, for the revolution in industry was followed by a second technological revolution.[17] The steam engine, heavy and static, was associated with a "fixed kind of social apparatus, gloomy and depressing," but electricity and internal combustion represented a radical departure in mechanics "fraught with social destiny."[18] Technology had evolved a kind of democratic dimension with the introduction of small machines and appliances that made the engine itself a common consumer product. The disruptions and inequalities resulting from industrial expansion might be the temporary effects of social adaptation to a central historical force of technological improvements. The tantalizing solution to the problem of industrialization was perhaps a deeper commitment to the machine. The meaning of modern journalism would emerge in the context of this vision of an industrial Second Coming.

As Lewis Mumford discerned in American literature, the industrial process by the 1890s had replaced the frontier as a compelling source of imagination and experience.[19] Writing in 1926, Mumford noted the change in the curious cultural lag of children's stories which at the turn of the century featured the exploits of the frontier when the West was fading as popular mythical theme. Even the child's mind would eventually be directed to technological exploits, the adventures of invention, science, aviation, and the motor car. The literature of technology had its precursors as

well: the utopian models of nineteenth-century idealists moved from the pastoral community to the technological city by the 1880s.[20] Indeed, the machine had long intruded into the vision of man's appropriate destiny with nature before the future was dreamed of in terms of cities, nation, and empire.[21] By the late nineteenth century the utopian novel had become a distinct genre: "happy technological fantasies, where everyone enjoyed a life of abundance and ease supported by efficient machines and a sense of duty easily discharged in a few hours a day."[22]

Such currents of fancy set ironic parameters on defining the age. Even those who wrote of the brutalities of industrialization could not easily conceive of reforms that did not extend a technological civilization. As Mumford lamented over the proposals of Upton Sinclair:

> What was weak in Mr. Sinclair's program was the assumption that modern industrial society possessed all the materials essential to a good social order. On this assumption, all that was necessary was a change in power and control: the Social Commonwealth would simply diffuse and extend the existing values.[23]

The critical temperament of the progressive observer was characterized by moral indignation over economic irregularities in industrial society, but that fervor was moderated and bound by constructive precepts: confidence in the adaptability of democracy, a new intellectual faith in a "logic of possibility" to intervene in the social environment, optimism over the potential of the machine to fundamentally alter the human condition.[24] This technological assumption could be seen in the tendency of critics to draw an ethical distinction between a system of distribution and one of production. It was reflected in arguments that displayed a critical bias toward treating consumers rather than laborers as the victims of the economic order, a society best served by higher standards of production. It was evident in the pervasive imperative of progressives for efficiency, their admiration of scientific management of the work place, in their ambivalent attitude toward the corporation as a model of organization, and even toward the concentration of power in the monopoly and trust. The great crime was "stealing the means of production," in Irwin's phrase. The great struggle was not against industrial organization, but for a release of its benevolent promise.

Sinclair, more radical than most in his critique of contemporary society, nevertheless dreamed of an "Industrial Republic," where "a man will be able to buy anything he wishes, from a flying machine to a seven-legged spider made of diamonds," and where electronic music might be as free as the air.[25] Inspired by the technological fiction of Edward Bellemy, whose influence ran through the work of nearly all the muckrakers, Sinclair proclaimed that history had worked its progress in two waves, the roll of political revolutions and the final industrial tide that could shortly sweep away the last inequities of society. Industrial competition had done its work: it had forged the discipline of workers and administrators, and "built us up a machine for satisfying all the material needs of civilization" if only it could be properly run.[26] Herbert Croly saw industrialism as a similar historical force, one that was working toward a historic compromise between Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian democratic ideals.[27] To David Graham Phillips, industry's physical sources of power were "efficient agents of democracy, the strong and inevitable unshacklers of the bodies and minds of mankind."[28] Howard Mumford Jones has read the

literature and journalism of the period and found them crackling with the rhetoric of an Age of Energy.[29] To Phillips, the machine itself had a voice, and spoke as a prophet:

> I, the machine, will make your burden into a blessing, your toil into labor, the noble, the dignified, the producer of civilization and self-respect. I will widen your horizon until you see that all men are brothers, brothers in the business of, by business enterprise, increasing and creating wants, and of, by business enterprise, satisfying them. I will give you ideals that are true and just—not loyalty to idle thieving prince, not slavery to irrational superstition, not bondage to bloody soldier-tyrant, but intelligent loyalty to truth and justice and progress. I will make you masters of nature and of yourself, servant of the true religion and the true morality.[30]

Even when the progressive critic focused on his principal theme of corruption in politics and capitalism, he could not help noting, as George K. Turner observed in writing on monopolies in railroads, steel, and oil, that corporate concentration made a "splendid machine" of logic and efficiency.[31]

What the progressives felt about technology they must have felt with special keenness about the technical structure of journalism. The movement itself, as Hofstadter suggests, was sustained by its journalism.[32] Muckraking was the spectacular exploitation of a new national medium, the wide-circulation magazine. The press was perhaps a model of an industry in technological transformation moving toward a new social role. Muckraking was the technique of exposure, the revelation of facts upon which to build an illuminated, if not enlightened, reality. More broadly, progressivism called for decision-making information and, at the subjective level, uniform expressions of value to nurture an integrated culture. The means of modern journalism were well suited to the motives of the reformers who undertook to establish the morality of the new century. In the mind of most progressives, the press had surpassed the educational system as the institution of mass indoctrination and challenged the pulpit as society's most influential instrument of exhortation. In 1903 S. S. McClure, in the seminal issue of his magazine that reported the trend-setting disclosures of Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, and Ray Stannard Baker, described the failure of legal, religious, and educational institutions to stem the corruption of law. "There is no one left; none but all of us," he wrote, as if gathering a national congregation, one that journalism would presume to address by institutional default. Here, as Hofstadter noted, was the essence of the progressive spirit.[33]

Practitioners and defenders of the press had long been committed to the view that journalism was transformed as an institution as it underwent technological development. Calder Pickett found the technological interpretation of progress in journalism common among the attitudes of many of the prominent figures of the New York press throughout much of the nineteenth century.[34] William Cullen Bryant had viewed technology, especially the coming of the telegraph, with transcendental sublimity; Benjamin Day marvelled at the revolutionary impact of both the telegraph and Richard Hoe's press. James Gordon Bennett was a skeptic of the railroad but an admirer of the steamship, and a visionary on the coming of instantaneous

communication. Greeley praised all mechanization and treated invention as news. Raymond of the *Times* thought the mechanics of printing alone exceeded the contribution to society of all the speculating philosophers of the ancient world. Pulitzer used the dimensions of technology to describe the scope of his own success.[35]

Advocates and critics of the press alike came to comprehend the new journalism as the culmination of a series of inventions. "Newspapers, prior to the discovery of the telegraph and the railroad, were insignificant and unimportant," wrote a Philadelphia publisher.[36] "With the invention of modern machinery and the typewriter, the use of electricity, the use of the telegraph and the telephone, a new era set in," observed press analyst James Edward Rogers in 1909.[37] To participants like *Tribune* editor Whitelaw Reid, the process of development had been inevitable, even beyond the control of the men who engaged in it, "and nothing could then wholly avert the moral changes which soon began to accompany an unexampled facility of production."[38] The progressive observer did not substantially disagree and even largely accepted the capitalist corollary: production conforms in content to public taste. The modern press had made every citizen a reader, a physical achievement sustained only by providing what society would buy to read. Reform had to raise the moral consciousness of consumers themselves. The ethical diffuseness of this argument, and the fact that it represented for progressives a central economic reality, tended to erode and compromise their critique of the press. The "mighty engine" of the press they essentially respected; its bending to a business point of view they could almost accept as inherent in its structural design.

For the most part, critics were content to reprimand the stewardship of business without divorcing the impressive capacity of the press from its economic orientation. Its commercialization, to draw from an editorial in the *Nation*, could be seen as "an incident of our passing from the day of small things to the time of large undertakings."[39] Arthur Reed Kimball, a muckraker sensitive to the "journalization" of culture—the influence of the press on patterns of thought, speech and literature—did not extend his unsettling analysis to question the "claims of capital":

> The blunt fact, offered not in apology, but in recognition of a condition as opposed to a theory is, of course, that capital does, and must control the policy of the newspaper, to maintain which a large investment is necessary.[40]

Steffens reminded reformers of their own stake in the newspaper of wide dissemination:

> A business it is, and a business it must always be. All this talk we hear of a subsidized newspaper is essentially wrong. The idealists, even more than the money-makers, should insist that the good newspaper be so made that it will pay; since it is not the paper but the readers they are after and the profits are the proof of the reading.[41]

In his economic analysis of the American newspaper and study of its psychological effect on the reader, Rogers described a somber reality of class control and base advertising influence but was able to conclude little more than a tautology:

> The American is sensational and so is his paper, the American is democratic and so is his paper. The successful, up-to-date editor does little more than adapt his newspaper to the demands and temperament of the public.[42]

Hamilton Holt, the progressive managing editor of the *Independent*, called for occupational resistance to the influence of the advertiser and was a leading proponent of the endowed journal, but did not discount mass circulation as a protective dimension of the press, and believed public disclosure of problems was itself a significant factor in gathering moral force in society.[43]

Giving precise expression to the progressive attitude toward the press and ideologically justifying its critical compromises was the contribution of Irwin with his long, definitive series in *Collier's* in 1911. From his original intent of exposing the shame of the press in muckraking fashion, Irwin shifted to the task of revealing the underlying principles of modern journalism. Production factors, instantaneous communication, and the emergence of an information culture had led to the functional realignment of journalism as a service industry. What defamed journalism as a commercial enterprise—its corporate processes and structure—could be given benign relevance with the presentation of the press as an indispensable public utility with a redefined constitutional franchise.

Irwin's thesis of the power of the press was based on a view that journalism had evolved in a manner consistent with the development of a technological society. The origins of the press had been a functional response to contemporary society in embryo: "With the increasing complexity of modern life arose a need for some method of communication better and more general than word of mouth or palace proclamation; so was born the newspaper."[44] At an inevitable moment news was "invented" following the manifestation of a news function in society and concurrent with the development of the mechanical means to address it: the railroad, the telegraph, the transatlantic cable, the cylinder press. The discovery was not unlike the release of a new form of energy:

> Blindly, as progress goes, our editors had stumbled upon a private want, a public need, hitherto unsatisfied; a new factor in democracy. They held the triggers of a force whose full power they failed to understand. Our Constitution and State codes, formed for an eighteenth century civilization and warped awkwardly sometimes to fit the needs of a new industrial era, failed in nothing as it failed in providing curbs for this new force—the power of news. . . . This force surprised civilization; it was born without the law; its power kept it above the law.

Ultimately from the crucible of the chemist came the secret to wood-based web paper, surmounting the last barrier to mass journalism.[46]

The influence of traditional journals had been focused and intentional; the effect of contemporary journalism was not conditional on either the motives or the determination of its practitioners, but on the potential of its machines. The power of news was a factor of its production: its wide circulation "without limitation from the mechanical plant," its "long-distance effect upon the public mind," the sum of its "constant iteration."[47]

In the new social order the importance of news was organic and a vital

fix to the modern psyche:

> We need it, we crave it; this nerve of the modern world transmits thought and impulse from the brain of humanity to its muscles; the complex organism of modern society could no more move without it than a man could move without filaments and ganglia.[48]

The priority of news set the press between the citizen and his social environment, and rivaled the authority of other institutions:

> On the commercial and practical side, the man of even small affairs must read news in the newspapers every day to keep informed on the thousand and one activities in the social structure which affect his business. On the intellectual and spiritual side, it is—save for the Church alone—our principal outlook on the higher intelligence. The thought of legislature, university, study, pulpit comes to the common man first—and usually last—in the form of news. The tedious business of teaching reading in public schools has become chiefly a training to consume newspapers.[49]

The ethical dilemma of the press, and conversely of society in relation to its journalism, was the problem of harnessing this new medium of energy and penetration.

Irwin did not ignore the familiar alarms of the period. The economic system included the reality of advertising influence, proprietors who shared the values of a corporate class, the web of interlocking ownership between newspapers and other industries.[50] Indeed, Irwin gathered the themes that have occupied press criticism to the present. The draining concession of his critical argument, however, a perspective which has also been largely carried forth, was to subsume the economic transformation of the press in a more forceful process of modernization. Businessmen themselves were caught up in this great revolution:

> In the complex organization of modern society grow large and rooted injustices, often the fault of no one man, at worst the fault of only a few. The agents of these systems may be above the ordinary in private virtue. They are but operatives, each tending, oiling, and repairing one little wheel in a great machine.[51]

The economic structure of the press could be exonerated with less difficulty than most of the nation's other industrial systems:

> No Rockefeller or Gould, Quay or Coker, built it up; on the contrary, it grew from the editorial and business policy not only of the ruthless Bennett and Hearst, but of the conscientious Greeley and Medill. It arose with the growth of the times. . . .[52]

The business of the press was in an "involved and disorganized condition" following expansion, but Irwin saw the system moving on its own momentum toward a higher ethical plane: yellow journalism was in decline; truth had been demonstrated to be a practical and valuable commodity in the marketplace; good will was proving to be an asset. He

denied the need for legislative intervention, the feasibility of an endowed press, the practicality of an adless paper.[53] The transformation of the press had brought a complex new institution into being. Its scope and efficiency could not be separated from its free enterprise orientation, corporate organization, or the capital investment of its technological base. But its power and intrinsic importance to modern life gave it prerogatives that extended beyond the boundary of property rights, It held a "tacit franchise" that required leadership beyond the business attitude.[54] Irwin argued that a rationale counter to commercialism already was a factor in contemporary journalism. It could be found in the existing structure of the press, regulating but not changing basic managerial relationships, modifying but not upsetting journalism's market orientation. It was evident at all levels of responsibility: in the "noble dissatisfaction" of journalists coming to realize the importance of their work, in principles guiding the honest editor through the quandary of making news decisions, in ethics marking the conscientious publisher as a "professional man."[55] A vision of responsibility could distinguish a profession even in an industry. The appropriate reform of journalism was to leave its successes intact.

The Professional Attitude

Irwin's appeal to a professional ideal for the press to counteract what he concluded were the troublesome economic side effects of its technical achievement was ironic. Journalism had already experienced the rise and fall of a professional identity in the figure of the nineteenth-century editor, whose status as the prominent personality of the newspaper had faded with the appearance of the large news organization. This loss of stature had been widely described as the decline of journalism as a profession. Irwin, however, was not reaching back for a traditional value of occupation in community. He was reaching out for a new meaning of professionalism in society, a renegotiated concept that was emerging in a professionalism movement affecting many occupations, including the "re-professionalization" of traditional professions.

Indeed, the history of professionalism in America follows a contour of emphasis and de-emphasis, the loss of prestige and its recovery as the organizing concept is made to conform to new values. The rise of modern professionalism in the late nineteenth century, significant and pervasive enough to be a major theme of middle-class culture, depended upon the breakdown in the monopoly of authority held by a small number of traditional professions to allow other claims to be recognized. However, the credibility of modern professionalism required that most of the traditional professions also recover—ideologically and bureaucratically revamped—to carry on the important appearance of tradition. Journalism's tenure as a "noble profession" after 1850 had been brief and tenuous, but the choice of professionalism as an organizing ideal again at the turn of the century was wholly consistent with the times.

The professional trend in American industrial society from 1880 onward involved both a restructuring of the marketplace and the collective quest of status by career-oriented specialists proliferating in the division of labor. In a deeper effect, the trend changed patterns of everyday habits, response to problems, and attitudes toward self-reliance.[56] The movement

was class-related, the spread of a set of essentially middle-class values through much of society and culture. Although the professionalization of journalism was an event of this process, it was not a typical occurence of the movement. The central vehicle of professional activity was the occupational group, assisted in most cases by like-minded allies in government and higher education. Typically, occupational specialists, particularly in service fields, came to recognize a basic similarity in their relation to consumers or clients and the highly ritualized relationships of the traditional professions. After a period of identifying itself as a distinct collectivity, the occupational group with a professional vision began to emulate the established professions in detail, especially with the aim of acquiring government sanction through government licensing and of benefiting from the exclusivity and prestige of college training.

The professionalization of journalism was only marginally activated by an occupational motivation. The principal impetus for journalism to professionalize was the need to resolve a public crisis of confidence in an industrial institution. Irwin's "tacit franchise" in effect was a professionalization of the First Amendment, calling for institutional responsibility to control a force "born without the law," whose power "kept it above the law."[57] Irwin's ideas were influential but hardly original. Similar notions on the appropriate means of controlling the press had been voiced before. "Like a railway, a great metropolitan newspaper is a quasi-public institution," observed an article in *Era*. "It is as dependent on popular suffrage and as responsible to the people for the right use—which means the best use—of its powers and privileges as if these were matters of legal franchise."[58] Outlining the argument for professionalization in 1904 was the *Harvard Graduate*:

> . . . The press indeed has become a mighty engine, but its rapid development has brought with it great abuses. Its chief fault is that, reveling in the freedom it enjoys, it has shown in much too slight a degree a sense of public responsibility for the use it makes of its freedom. The time has come when journalism, in its own and the public interests, should become a genuine profession, when it should become subject to self-imposed ethics, such as governs the other professions, and when it should not exercise unregulated powers.[59]

The fit of an occupational ideal of individual autonomy to an industrial bureaucracy would not be perfect: journalism would be destined to a perennial state of semi-professionalism, to a continuous dynamics of emerging professionalism, to a faith in a "spirit of professionalism" rather than in the exact example of the established professions. The case for distinguishing the working journalist, the salaried employee of the newspaper as the focus of professionalism was problematic. Overriding the difficulty was the perception of the press as a whole having a professional mission: "The collection, publication, and distribution of news has become a business of dignity and importance."[60] Pledge the press to a professional mandate, and the status of professionalism would accrue to the existing press system. As important as the need for reform of the press was the necessity to clear away an ambiguous public attitude toward the powerful new medium. The drive to professionalize journalism had to convince both press and public alike.[61] The project was essentially ideological: not deeply affected were

either the structure or the procedures of modern journalism, but the manner in which they were interpreted. Journalism was changed by the economic exploitation of technology; professionalism was a frame for understanding that change.

Notes

[1] Robert H. Weibe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

[2] Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 41.

[3] Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper—I, The Power of the Press," *Collier's*, 46 (January 21, 1911), 15.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] This article is drawn from a portion of a dissertation chapter. For a more detailed discussion, see Douglas Birkhead, "Presenting the Press: Journalism and the Professional Project," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1982.

[6] George Boyce, "The Fourth Estate: The Reappraisal of a Concept," in *Newspaper History: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (London: Constable, 1978), p. 27.

[7] Charles Wingate, ed., *Views and Interviews on Journalism*(New York: F. B. Patterson, 1875), p. 216.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

[10] Quoted from Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 354.

[11] *Ibid.*,

[12] See Lincoln Steffens, "The Business of a Newspaper," *Scribner's*, 22 (October 1897), 447; Irwin, "The American Newspaper—I," p. 15.

[13] See Brooke Fisher, "The Newspaper Industry," *Atlantic* 89 (June 1902): 746, Rollo Ogden, "Journalism in New York," *Nation*, 57 (August 3, 1893), 78-79.

[14] Boyce, p. 36.

[15] Louis G. Geiger, "Muckrakers—Then and Now," *Journalism Quarterly*, 43 (Autumn 1966), 469.

[16] "The Simplicity That Never Was," *Atlantic*, 105 (January 1910), 139.

[17] Charles Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928), p. 714.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Lewis Mumford, *The Golden Day* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1926), p. 233. A compelling update of Mumford's thesis on the replacement of the frontier in the public imagination is offered in David W. Noble, *The Progressive Mind, 1890-1917* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1970). In Noble's analysis, what the progressives sought to describe was a new frontier force in industrialism and technology, one that allowed for economic expansion and social mobility. Pointing the American identity toward the future were historians such as Charles Beard, and speaking of

the harmony through technological order were Frederick Taylor, Henry Ford, and Thorstein Veblen. Noble writes of the progressive conceptual effort as an Americanization of Marx, placing the Marxist theory of progress into a middle-class frame.

[20] Robert H. Walker, ed., *The Reform Spirit in America* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), p. 558.

[21] See Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

[22] Walker, *The Reform Spirit in America*, p. 558.

[23] Mumford, *The Golden Day*, p. 243.

[24] See Jay Martin, "The Literature of Argument and the Arguments of Literature: The Aesthetics of Muckraking," *Muckraking: Past, Present and Future*, eds. John M. Harrison and Harry H. Stein (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973), pp. 101-102.

[25] Upton Sinclair, *The Industrial Republic* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1907), p. 239.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 61. See Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1888).

[27] See Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1909). On Croly see Charles Forcey, *The Crossroads of Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961); David W. Noble, *The Paradox of Progressive Thought* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958); and Howard Mumford Jones, *The Age of Energy* (New York: The Viking Press, 1970), pp. 425-429.

[28] David Graham Phillips, *The Reign of Gilt* (New York: James Pott & Co., 1905), p. 163.

[29] Jones, *The Age of Energy*.

[30] Phillips, *The Reign of Gilt*, pp. 177-178.

[31] John Moody and George K. Turner, "Master of Capital in America; The Seven Men," *McClure's*, 20 (January 1903), 336. See Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, pp. 202-203.

[32] Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform; From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), p. 185.

[33] S. S. McClure, "Editorial," *McClure's*, 20 (January 1903), 336. See Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, pp. 202-203.

[34] Calder M. Pickett, "Technology and the New York Press in the 19th Century," *Journalism Quarterly*, 37 (Summer 1960), 398-407.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] George W. Ochs, "Journalism," *Annals of the American Academy*, 28 (July 1906), 38.

[37] James Edward Rogers, *The American Newspaper* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), pp. 14-15.

[38] Quoted from Arthur Reed Kimball, "The Profession of Publicist," *Atlantic*, 92 (December 1903), 807.

[39] Editorial, *Nation*, 74 (June 12, 1902), 459.

[40] Kimball, "The Profession of Publicist," p. 807.

[41] Lincoln Steffens, "The New School of Journalism," *Bookman*, 18 (October 1903), 173-174.

[42] Rogers, *The American Newspaper*, p. 185.

[43] See Hamilton Holt, *Commercialism and Journalism* (Boston: Riverside Press, 1909); and the biography, Warren F. Kuehl, *Hamilton Holt* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960).

[44] Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper—II, The Dim Beginnings," *Collier's*, 46 (February 4, 1911), 14.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[47] Irwin, "The American Newspaper—I, The Power of the Press," p. 18.

[48] Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper—V, What is News?," *Collier's*, 46 (March 18, 1911), 16.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] At least four of Irwin's articles in the series might be considered primarily an economic interpretation of the press.

[51] Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper—IX, The Advertising Influence," *Collier's*, 47 (May 27, 1911), 15.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] See Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper—IV, The Spread and Decline of Yellow Journalism," *Collier's* 46 (March 4, 1911), 18-20, 36; "The American Newspaper—XIII, The New Era," *Collier's* 47 (July 8, 1911), 15-16, 25; "The American Newspaper—XV, The Voice of a Generation," *Collier's*, 47 (July 29, 1911), 15-16, 23, 25.

[54] Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper—VI, The Editor and the News," *Collier's*, 47 (April 1, 1911), 18.

[55] *Ibid.*, "The American Newspaper—I, The Power of the Press," p. 15; "The American Newspaper—XV, The Voice of a Generation," p. 23.

[56] For a powerful argument on the effect of professionalization on organizing markets, see Magali Safatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism; A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); for a view of professionalism as part of a status revolution see Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*; for an analysis of professionalism in its effect on culture see Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978).

[57] Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper—VI, The Editor and the News," p. 18; "The American Newspaper—II, The Dim Beginnings," p. 16.

[58] Paul Tyner, "The Ideal Newspaper," *Era*, 11 (May 1903), 474.

[59] Samuel W. McCall, "The Newspaper Press," *Harvard Graduate*, 13 (September 1904), 43.

[60] Albert Shaw, "Making a Choice of a Profession," *Cosmopolitan* 35 (June 1903), 156.

[61] As Noble suggests, the progressive impulse for reform was matched by a compulsion to justify industrial development. The tension was eased with regard to the press by calling for professional responsibility in exchange for public acceptance of journalism's large-scale industrial role. The mediating proposal required some convincing on both sides. Given the inherent conservatism of the professional project as it was devised for journalism, however, support for the movement within the industry became pervasive. For an account of progressive attitudes toward the institutionalization of the corporate structure in America see Noble, *The Progressive Mind.*

From Orthodoxy to Reform: Assimilation and the Jewish-English Press of Mid-Nineteenth Century America

KATHRYN T. THEUS

In 1857 editors of the Jewish ethnic press were engaged in a critical debate. On the one hand, Orthodox spokesmen urged maintenance of age-old traditions in a country without adequate support structures. On the other, Reform advocates favored modification of religious traditions and beliefs to conform more closely to the norms of American culture. The exchange defined important processes by which Jews would become assimilated into American society, but it was hardly noticed in the mass press. Like journalists of that era, modern scholars have been inattentive to the significance of early Jewish-English periodicals as powerful instruments for advancing Reform ideology and assimilation; this constitutes a serious lapse, particularly because the debate generated by the emergence of the reform movement was conducted for several decades in ethnic periodical literature.

This study focuses on currents affecting Jewish assimilation—the modification of Jewish religious and social structures—as anticipated in and described by the Jewish-English press. It supports suggestions that immigrant religion plays an important role in reinforcing group consciousness by helping to preserve culture and tradition and by strengthening the sense of ethnicity.[1] It shows clearly the frustration that Jews encountered as their movement to change social roles and structures precipitated changes in religious roles and structures.

At a time when the industrial revolution was changing the American economic environment; when its offspring, the Penny Press, was creating a hunger for news; when literacy was on the rise; when the cost of mass communication by newspaper was cheap, it is not surprising that immigrant rabbis, the first editors of the Jewish-English press, should seek a wider medium than the pulpit to argue their concerns before Jewish adherents.

Jewish religious, political, cultural, and social values, as presented in three widely read periodicals that constituted the 19th-century Jewish-English press, have been identified and compared for the first time in this

study. Literature from assimilation and communication studies, as well as histories, was used to set the events reported in a historic and social framework.[2] While one cannot definitively show a relationship between rapid assimilation of German Jews of the mid-19th century into the American mainstream and the effect the Jewish press had upon the formation of their attitudes, one can show the extent to which articles were supportive or nonsupportive of traditional Jewish ideas and institutions.

Assimilation, it has been suggested, is related to a loss of ethnicity. Himmelfarb's 1979 study of denominational involvement of Chicago Jews showed a positive relationship between Jewish self-consciousness and traditional (Orthodox) observance. The more traditional the worship, the more Jewish identity was claimed on devotional and secular scales. The degree of assimilation, he contended correlates with the presence or absence of traditional religious and ethnic customs and structures in the population.[3]

In looking at Jewish periodicals, one might argue that when stories emphasize traditional values (such as Orthodox worship, belonging to and participating in Jewish organizations, emphasis on Jewish culture, Jewish rights and peoplehood, and Jewish philanthropy), the press does not promote assimilation. Conversely, when stories encourage nontraditional values (such as change of historic rites in worship, membership in non-Jewish organizations, interest in general American and world issues, discouragement of peoplehood and separateness, and interest in general non-Jewish philanthropy), the more assimilationist the press can be said to be.

Three Jewish-English newspapers published between 1855-59 (and contained in bound volumes in the archives of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.) were perused, and specific pages were analyzed. Holdings chosen were available only in the following years: for 1855-56, *The Asmonean* (1849-1858), *The Israelite* (1854-1900), a weekly journal published in Cincinnati by Isaac Mayer Wise; and for 1858-59, *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate* (1842-68), a monthly magazine published in Philadelphia by Isaac Leeser.

First-of-the-month editorial pages for 12 months in each weekly journal and the lead article of the monthly comprised the sample for the study. Approximately 65 column inches of copy per page or lead article were examined—about 2,400 column inches in all. In addition, all articles in three first-of-the-month issues of the weekly journals and the contents in 12 issues of the monthly journal were read to classify the subject matter included in each.

Only two short-lived journals preceded the ones considered in this study, although two joined the field about 1858. It is impossible to know how many may have read these English language newspapers, but readership could have been a substantial portion of the 50,000 Jews in the United States. By mid-century, 3,800 subscribers (about seven percent of the Jewish population) received both *The Israelite* and *Die Deborah*. Bernard Postal estimated the pass-along readership to have been large when he characterized the historic Jewish press as "the largest pulpit in town. No rabbi reaches a fraction of the number of people into whose homes the Jewish newspaper comes."[4]

A question often arises about English as the medium of communication among immigrant Jews. The editors published in English because the first Jewish arrivals in the colonies belonged to a cast of traders who had spent time in England or English colonies and knew English. No influential

Jewish single-language group slowed adoption of America's native tongue.[5]

The three journals in this study expressed the only mass voice of Judaism in the United States during the mid-19th century and provided the agenda set by the Jewish ethnic press. Since no events of historic significance to American Jews occurred between the years 1855-59, it is assumed that attitudes found in the periodicals reflect the normative climate of opinion of the Jewish community.

To put Jewish journalism and reform in context, one must remember that Judaism, as it had always been known, underwent distinct changes in the 18th and 19th centuries. Change was spawned in Europe, but the most radical innovations in Judaism occurred after the first Jews arrived in the United States from Germany. Many carried ideas from the fatherland, stimulated in an age of enlightenment. Time-bound traditions that once united Jews became regarded as restrictive to free, personal expression and advancement. Even Jewish rabbis who supported democratic rights and religious liberty could not agree on the extent to which the traditional aspects of Jewishness, as a "people set apart," could be realized. It was out of that controversy that the Jewish press in the United States was born.

The 1,500 or so American Jews, who were Orthodox in background if not actively observant, were ill-prepared to receive the comparative hoards of German-Jewish expatriates who arrived in the early 19th century. Bavarian immigrants of the 1830s, lacking education and extremely poor, were followed in the 1840s by a better-educated group. Neither found viable support systems for maintaining "Jewishness" in America.

The German (Ashkenazi) Jews of the first wave followed different liturgies and maintained traditional life-styles that set them apart from the Portuguese (Sephardic) Jews who met them. Into this context of religious confusion entered the German-Jewish intellectuals of the 1840s. Inoculated with reform aspirations, the young rabbi-journalists clearly identified reform as harmonious with the American dream of success and the spirit of the Protestant revolution. It soon became apparent that reformers wanted adjustments in Jewish communal and religious practices that would afford them better access to the free, highly secular society of their adopted country.

Sociologist Milton M. Gordon, when assessing Jewish movement toward assimilation, has said that religious conversion consummates the most radical movement into the American mainstream, followed closely by intermarriage—which some 19th-century historians say reached considerable proportions.[6] Beyond those threats to Jewishness, the modernization of religious traditions and the breakdown of associations within Jewish culture contributed to a loss of ethnic identity.[7]

Suffice it to say, advocates of modernization were primarily those who wished to join the ranks of the new, rising middle-class. Reform-minded Jews saw their culture as a block to advancement. Loath to abandon Judaism entirely, they sought to eliminate those precepts that barred full interaction with the host population.

By 1855 a vitriolic exchange was taking place in the Jewish-English press. Orthodox editors blamed tendencies toward assimilation on the changes in Judaism, and reform editors blamed Christian missionaries. In the dispute, more than a battle for reform was being waged.

The Jewish-English press, with flamboyant and frequently libelous journalism, participated in the shaping of a distinctly American Judaism and Jew. By reinforcing the agenda under discussion, Jewish-English

periodicals supported a new orientation to ethnicity and religion; and those orientations took root in tradition-free American culture.

The Asmonean: A Layman's View

New York editor Robert Lyon is known as the "Father of the weekly Jewish newspaper in America." Actually, his newspaper was not the first. Isidor Bush of New York published a reform weekly, *Israeld Herold*, for a brief period in 1848.[8] But Lyon's *Asmonean* was the first to be published for an extended period—from 1849-59. It emphasized "general news" of the American-Jewish community, as well as religious and literary information useful to its growing population. Little is known of publisher Lyon, other than that he had offices at 112 Pearl St., Hanover Square, N.Y. But much can be learned of him from his publication.

The flag, placed at the top, center, of the eight-page tabloid, read *The Asmonean*, and immediately below, "A Family Journal of Commerce, Politics, Religion and Literature Devoted to the Interests of the American Israelites." Centered below that one finds, "Knowledge is Power." Lyon evidently believed those four areas important in providing economic, political, and social status to Israelites in America. Of the four, the first two involved participation with the host community. but the second two did not.

Even though Lyon claimed *The Asmonean* was a family journal, almost no mention of familial interests appeared in it at all, beyond an occasional reference to educating youth in "enlightened Judaism." Notices for Jewish day and boarding schools did appear in ads, indicating a concern in the community that institutions provide education for Jewish youths to supplement training received in homes.

Articles on *The Asmonean*'s editorial page during 1855-56 showed specific concern with religious reform, civil liberties, formation of Jewish organizations, and forwarding Jewish education. The editor seldom took strident positions in these areas. Rather, his tone reflected the more objective journalism of the secular press.

Although no circulation figures are available, each issue of the newspaper contained letters from patrons as far west as that "vast untilled field" Ohio, as Lyon put it, and as far south as New Orleans. That the paper had wide readership is implied in the fact that Jewish associations with national membership ordered their minutes to be printd in *The Asmonean* and two other publications, *The Israelite* and *The Occident*.

More than half of the copy found on any given page originated in another journal (usually Jewish and usually European) before it found its way into the pages of the New York publication. Consequently, about half the space alerted readers to topics of foreign or general Jewish interest.

Serialized literature—usually religious, historical, or archeological on Jewish themes—filled the news hole when announcements and more compelling content could not be found. About one-sixth of the editorial page articles mentioned local New York City Jews, and one-third dealt with national Jewish news.

By the beginning of 1856, Lyon founded a German Department, or German-language page, in response to the growing German-speaking population. He probably did so because his chief competitor in Cincinnati, Isaac M. Wise, had recently begun publishing a German supplement to *The*

Israelite—"with what success we cannot say," he commented January 4, 1856. But Wise was apparently successful enough for Lyon to copy his idea.[10]

It is clear from his writing that Lyon saw the press as powerful in its potential effects upon the reading public. This undoubtedly led him in editorial columns to give advice on topics ranging from fashion and politics to religion. For example, he recommended *Godey's Lady Book* "to all our fair sisters who desire to be looked upon as ladies of taste." And in discussing what Jewish citizens should and should not read for their betterment, he disparaged authors and publishers "for palming off heaps of trash on the not-always-discerning public."[11]

Religion, as it would be expected, was a recurring theme in a religiously defined ethnic periodical. In analyzing the subject matter of 79 articles found on the first-of-the-month editorial pages, one sees that the most consistently advanced view had to do with religious toleration. Fully one-third of the articles called for religious liberty, cultural inclusiveness, and political participation by Jews, both at home and abroad. One-sixth made references to class-consciousness, progress, and enlightened ideas. Only one article indicated a desire for establishing a Jewish nation in Israel, and it originated in a foreign periodical. Two expressed interest in Jews' remaining a people "set apart."

Lyon also advocated political action in his columns. He proposed the use of Jewish group pressure to achieve goals through the use of resolutions, petitions, the press, lobbying, and block voting. All his words calling for religious tolerance, however, did not eliminate occasional editorial aspersions against Christians. But these were more condescending than impassioned. Lyon held a positive attitude, generally, toward Jewish interaction with the Christian population in politics and through the arts, particularly literature. He recommended readings in his "Literary Occurances" column that were secular or tended to support changing orthodoxy. Some concerned acceptable protestant literature.

Although three-eights of Lyon's emphasis encouraged a mixing with the external environment through political interaction, one-third praised the establishment within Judaism of exclusive Jewish societies and associations for orphans, widows, literary pursuits, benevolences, and education. In other words, two-thirds of *The Asmonean*'s editorial page content encouraged transforming Jewish practices within an ethnically enclosed context. Change that was encouraged focused on the adaptation of Jewish structures within ethnic enclaves, rather than within general American society. Since these structures resembled Anglo-Protestant social structures, they served to ease the path of assimilation of Jews within a larger cultural context.

There is no hint of Lyon's attitude toward intermarriage or religious conversion. He remained silent on both topics. As for reform, Lyon seemed to advocate no particular position. One-third of his editorial copy discussed religious change based on scholarship. But when the politics of reform became an issue in 1855-56, Lyon kept out of the fray, publishing articles from both sides.

The Israelite: Stridently Reform

A reading of selected issues of *The Israelite* of 1857-58, edited by Cincinnati rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise (1819-1900), indicated Wise advocated ethnic separateness while encouraging Jewish participation in general American social structures. His religious innovations, which included theological reinterpretations, often flew in the face of tradition. Each was aimed at the practice of Orthodoxy and Jewish self-identification.

From the moment Wise began his rabbinate in the United States in 1846, he manifested allegiance to his native German Reform movement. He introduced to his Albany, N.Y. congregation the organ, the choir, mixed seating, and a new liturgy. He wrote reform articles in the two early periodicals of American Judaism, *The Asmonean* and *The Occident*. When his radical ideas put him at odds with Orthodox rabbis, he founded a new temple where he remained until he accepted a call to a Reform congregation in Cincinnati in 1854.

Within a month after assuming the pastorate of his new flock, Wise began to publish *The Israelite*, a weekly newspaper intended to create a "sharp weapon" for Judaism, in the reformed fashion. A year later he published a German translation, *Die Deborah*, addressed to "the daughters of Israel" who presumably did not have occasion to learn English as quickly as their husbands.[12] Both journals were published for half a century.

The Israelite's flag proclaimed it to be "A Weekly Periodical—Devoted to the Religion, History and Literature of the Israelites." But Wise articulated a broader journalistic goal in 1857—that "... *The Israelite* will continue to be the Jewish history of our age."[13] In fact, news content in the periodical was minimal. *The Israelite* had more or less regular features: a serialized novel; a short briefs column copied from foreign papers, which gave glimpses of world Jewish affairs; and poetry, psalms, essays, histories, and sermons. Wise treated reform frequently in his own editorials. He also wrote travel pieces describing his impressions of distant American-Jewish communities. His heavily thematic articles presumably advanced the editor's vow to sharpen his knife against opponents of Judaism.

Unlike articles published in the competing weekly *The Asmonean*, *The Israelite* offered little insight into the ethnic separateness in civic or cultural life characteristic of Jews in the United States at mid-century. Stories covered little news of Jewish associations, business, or art, nor did they emphasize Jewish participation in politics as promoted in the New York paper edited by Lyon. Articles that might be termed political focused exclusively on religious liberty, espécially as it pertained to Jews worldwide.

On occasion Wise publicly confronted local school boards or political parties that held meetings on Saturday: "The School Board of our city does not know that they should not occasion children to violate their Sabbath?" the rabbi questioned.[14] But Wise's scoldings did not reflect lack of affection for America. One need only look at the American eagle, wings prominently spread above the newspaper's flag, to see the double symbolism implied. The great eagle of Israel (and America), carrying an olive branch and a banner in his talons, proclaimed peace and enlightenment. "Let there be light," it said.

Wise claimed more people read his newspaper than any other Jewish journal. Only a year after its birth, *The Israelite* boasted some 2,000

subscribers nationwide. By 1860, *The Deborah* had 1,800.[15] From 1857, no circulation figures were available, but agents sold subscriptions in the following cities: Albany and Rochester, N.Y.; Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio; Philadelpha and Danville, Pa.; Chicago, Ill.; Madison, Ind.; New Orleans, La.; St. Louis, Mo.; Boston, Mass.; and San Francisco, Sacramento City, Stockton, Marysville, and Sonora, Calif.

The most striking feature of *The Israelite* was the extent to which the editor's personal journalism dominatd editorial page content. In defining his editorial policy, Wise claimed the spotlight as a latter-day prophet by tracing a line from Abraham to Moses to Isaac Mayer Wise.[16]

Whatever Wise may have been—generous, ardent, the father of a large family—he definitely did not feel humble about his powers as opinion leader, nor of the powers of his journalism to silence a less vocal minority and to activate a supportive public:

> Every voice that was publicly raised against our race or faith, in print or public assemblies, was discussed in this paper, discussed with ability, energy and true devotion, so that many an opponent was convinced of his wrong and many an adversary silenced.[17]

It was Wise's radical theology that caused his fellow rabbis to fear his influence, for his talent at self-expression and his self-styled interpretation of theological maxims inculcated into Judaism a nationalistic pursuit of perfection and a denial of a personal messiah. "The administration of justice is the first religious duty of man; its universal triumph is the redemption of humanity; its hall is God's temple; its servants are God's high priests; its final triumph is the reign of the Messiah, the Messiah himself."[18]

When Isaac Leeser, editor of *The Occident*, and other Orthodox leaders condemned Wise for such statements, he turned his vehemence on them. Referring to Leeser, Wise wrote: "At any and every occasion he has raised the mad dog cry of heresy at our heels, with the avowed intention not only to defame the products of our pen, but to ruin us in the Jewish community."[19]

While Wise's writing showed vigor, other selections in his journal seemed repetitious and weighty. About two-thirds of *The Israelite*'s articles overall, excluding the novels, concerned general Jewish topics copied from textbooks or lectures and had no local or national peg. Less than a third touched on topics of national interest. Wise published almost no local news. National news articles dealt more with non-Jewish than with Jewish topics. Few stories covered activities of the American Jewish community.

Among the articles analyzed, cultural topics, such as histories of Jews and frequently their mistreatment, accounted for one-third of the copy. A small fraction described Jewish social activities, but none mentioned Jewish associations other than synagogues, leaving no clear picture of Jewish structures which may have existed. Religion accounted for more than two-thirds of *The Israelite*'s editorial page emphasis. Of that amount, one-fourth dealt with anti-Christian topics such as attacking Christian missionaries for proselytizing Jews or foreign powers for restricting Jewish freedoms. One-sixth concerned reform activities, and one-fourth supported Jewish values harmonious with reform or change.

It is the mixture of religious reform with political ideals and anti-Christian yet anti-Orthodox Jewish perspectives that makes Wise so difficult to classify. He is commonly remembered for bringing into his fold

numerous newly-organized reform congregations and for creating a Jewish expression suitable for genteel society. But that those changes should be considered advances into that milieu—assimilation as opposed to ethnicity—was probably not Wise's intention.

He conceived of a system having certain institutions for the nurture of Jews in "enlightened" Judaism, institutions modeled to minimize the differences in values between Jews and other Americans. At the same time he encouraged public schooling for Jewish children and advocated identification with American nationalistic ideals.

But Wise did not overtly encourage Jews to lead in general political affairs. He maintained only one activist stance—Jews should assert themselves to eradicate laws and customs that catered to Christians and impinged upon Jewish religious freedoms. On the face of it, one would be inclined to say the change advocated by Wise could have been realized within ethnic groupings and would not have led to assimilation. However, it must be recognized that Wise encouraged radical change of religious values and customs, which may have contributed to the breakdown of ethnic structures and to a loss of ethnicity.[20]

The Occident: An Orthodox Rebuttal

The Rev. Isaac Leeser (1806-1868) spent half his life as rabbi and editor fending off movements that threatened to defile Orthodox Judaism during a tempestous season. Having come to America as a young boy, he observed two Jewish communities; the native-born one, which was not particularly religious, and the German one, which began emigrating to the United Stated in the mid-1830s.

Lesser saw his duty, at first, to those non-observant American Jews—Jewish by birth but not by upbringing. Part of the impetus for establishing *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate* in Philadelphia in 1842 was to provide a forum for raising questions and providing answers to uninformed Jews about their faith. Of special concern to Leeser was defection from Judaism by conversion and intermarriage. The old rabbi thought education, coupled with a dose of ethnic pride, would solve the problem. He explained his strategy in an 1858 *Occident*:

> I will call your attention to the Editor of the *Occident*: He was, 30 years ago, the first to unfurl the banner of religion in this country and to fling its folds high into the breeze; and he taught the native Israelites, who scarcely knew any more of Judaism than that their fathers had been Jews, to know, adore and reverence the God of Israel; he made them acquainted with the misfortunes and changes of their people through all times. They thus became here the most ardent adherents of a religion which they had not inherited from their fathers, which had not become dear to them through habit; but to which they were attracted by wise instruction of a faithful teacher.[21]

The teacher, Leeser, initiated measures to strengthen Jewish structures, such as instituting the first Jewish Sabbath school and preaching sermons in English; but he did not accept reform trends toward parroting the

dominant Protestant society.

In 1842, the year of the magazine's first issuance, Leeser did not direct his attention toward reform. By the time he realized its importance, his efforts were too little, too late. For more than 12 years Leeser had called his community to orthodox obedience. But in 1854, his journal faced a powerful, new reform opponent—*The Israelite.* And Leeser's hopes for maintaining the pure faith faded with each edition that journal published.

Unwilling to imitate religious-ethnic papers that coupled entertainment with news (and whose circulations were growing) Leeser kept to the high ground of religious instruction in *The Occident.* He defended his editorial policy:

> It is not our province to entertain our readers with fanciful love stories of those daring adventures on one side, or to astonish them with the out pouring of profound learning on the other. Religious papers . . . should . . . discuss what . . . has immediate bearing on the welfare of Israelites. . . .[22]

Thus, two-thirds of the rabbi's lead articles in 1858-59 rejected reform ideas, and almost one-third upheld religious freedom.

Leeser's magazine format included a title page, table of contents, and eight or more articles followed by a few ads and personals used as fillers. Topics other than reform included instruction in orthodox principles, selections from traditional Jewish literature, and news about Jewish support systems such as all Jewish associations, Jewish social events, obituaries, and wedding announcements.

Objectivity was not one of Leeser's strong points, as it was not Wise's. Both wrote personal journalism of the most engaging sort. Although Leeser took himself very seriously as opinion leader, he knew that his public might have already formed its opinion in the debates around reform. He pointed out that the reform press should be credited with a portion of that responsibility. The rabbi also laid blame on Jewish figures who allowed reformers to promulgate their messages from orthodox pulpits. At the same time, he admitted impotence in stopping religious change by himself.

Leeser, by mid-century, sensed the probable effects of Jewish modernization and the dynamics that cause peoples to acculturate. As social barriers are broken down between Jews and Gentiles, the greater will be the loss of separateness, of "peoplehood." "Moderate reformers believe they understand the problem of the age [can be solved by] change in doctrine, . . . practice, . . . Synagogue, . . . house, . . . names, . . . national customs. . . ."[23] The rabbi believed the change of these forms would serve as "a lever to unsettle and loosen the whole ancient edifice."[24] He concluded, "Without Jewish practice, without a severance from others, we cannot maintain ourselves."[25]

He analyzed the problem as one turning on issues of modernity: science, democratization, sudden liberty, and rapid communication. Leeser saw technology as insidious. Irreligion in the past resulted from simple neglect, not rebellion against it. He insisted that communication had caused the spread of an "organized rebellion against the most high."[26] And he reminded American Jews that European reformers who endeavored to resemble the Gentile world, who thought it best to assimilate, had not preserved for their families the distinctive faith in which they were born. He warned that God would punish such disobedience.

Leeser, as an editor and journalist, reflected a standard which could only have prevented large-scale assimilation of Jews into American structures. His journalism never varied in its stated intention to battle the destroyers of the Jewish people. Those influences were not just reform-minded religious leaders, but included, also, "enlightened" philosophies of the 19th century and the innovations of the scientific revolution which accompanied that thought.

Conclusions

The Jewish-English press served its constituents in a number of ways. Besides providing guidance on vital matters of religious concern, it reflected tensions placed on an evolving Jewish community. The ethnic press reported news of political developments on the international scene and fostered feelings of solidarity and interdependence among Jews throughout the world. It supported active participation in political life by providing insight on how to manipulate the American political system. And it provided information on matters of importance to Jews, which helped to fill in knowledge gaps inevitable in an immigrant population. Most of these topics, although crucial to Jews, did not receive adequate coverage in the secular press. So the ethnic press served a unique role for its readers.

The study also provides an example of how small newspapers with limited resources were able to build a network of subscribers on a national level and how subscribers used the media to express their concerns. The editors of those papers espoused their own causes, but these were related to an agenda agreed upon across the board as important for discussion within the Jewish community.

A close reading of the three journals discloses a prevailing notion within the American Jewish community that assimilation had already begun to take hold. The two weekly journals encouraged adaptation to the customs of the larger Protestant community in dress, in choice of reading matter, and in worship. Because the one orthodox journal sounded a demoralized note as it described the changes going on in the Jewish community, it, too, readied the Jewish population for assimilation. And because there was a similarity in Judeo-Christian and Jewish values, basic orientations did not impede the narrowing of the distance between the Protestant host culture and her Jewish initiates.

To be sure, for a great number of readers, Jewish periodicals were of interest primarily as a source of information, diversion, and entertainment, and only secondarily because of their theological content. Yet, precisely because the influence was subtle and indirect, their effect was more pronounced. Thus, these journals, with their short articles and periodic exposure, provided ideal media for publicizing and popularizing innovations within Jewish structures—innovations which could only have defined a new ethnicity for the American Jew.

TABLE 1

Relative Positions of Jewish-English Press On Issues Affecting Assimilation

	1858-1859 *Occident and American Jewish Advocate* (1842-1868)	1855-1856 *Asmonean* (1849-1858)	1857-1858 *Israelite* (1854-1900)
Religious Reform vs. Orthodoxy	1	2	3
Political participation in host culture	1	3	2
Belonging to and participating in Jewish organizations	1	1	3
Emphasis on Jewish culture (literature, history, arts)	1	3	2
Emphasis on Jewish rights (often religious rights)	1	2	2
Total Scores	5 = 1	11 = 2.2	12 = 2.4
1 = non-assimilationist position 2 = neutral or middle position 3 = assimilationist position	*Occident* emphasis: traditional worship; ethnically enclosed social context; against reform; no interest in political participation; opposed popular culture	*Asmonean* emphasis: open to religious change based on modern methods of scholarship; change within ethnically enclosed context; strongly advocated political participation; promoted popular culture	*Israelite* emphasis: advocated religious change; assumed general social context; assumed interest in political participation; promoted popular culture

Notes

[1] J. P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics: 1815-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 7, 98, 111.

[2] See Milton C. Albrecht, "The Relationship of Literature and Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (1954), pp. 425-436; Judith Bleich, "The Emergence of an Orthodox Press in 19th Century Germany," *Jewish Social Studies*, 42 (1980), p. 324; Warren Breed, "Mass Communication and Socio-Cultural Integration," *Social Forces*, 37 (1958), p. 110; D. Driedger, "Jewish Identity: The Maintenance of Urban Religious and Ethnic Boundaries," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 3 (1980), pp. 24-73; Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Oscar Handlin, *Adventure in Freedom* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1954), p. 76; Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press," in *The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press* (St Paul, Minn.: West, 1977), p. 12; Raymond A. Mohl and Neil Betten, "The Immigrant Church in Gary Indiana; Religious Adjustment and Cultural Defense," *Ethnicity*, 8 (1981), pp. 1-17; Patricia A. Taylor, "Education, Ethnicity, and Cultural Assimilation in the United States," *Ethnicity*, 8 (1981), p. 31; David Smith, "Mass Media as a Basis for Interaction,"*Journalism Quarterly*, 52 (1975), p. 49.

[3] Harold S. Himmelfarb, "Patterns of Assimilation-Identification Among American Jews, *Ethnicity*, 6 (1979), pp. 249-252.

[4] Charles A. Madison, *Jewish Publishing in America: The Impact of Jewish Writing on American Culture* (New York: Sanhedrin Press, 1976), p. 16.

[5] Nathan Glazer, *American Judaism* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1974), p. 21.

[6] Gordon, p. 37.

[7] Himmelfarb, p. 252.

[8] Morris U. Schappes, ed., *A Documentary History of Jews in the United States: 1654-1875* (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p. 279.

[9] Gordon, pp. 37-41.

[10] *The Asmonean*, 4 January 1856.

[11] *The Asmonean*, 6 April 1855.

[12] Wesley Norton, *Development of the Religious Press in America* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1977), p. 13.

[13] *The Israelite*, 10 July 1857.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Norton, p. 13.

[16] *The Israelite*, 7 May 1858.

[17] *The Israelite*, 4 June 1858.

[18] *The Israelite*, 5 March 1858.

[19] *The Israelite*, 4 September 1857.

[20] Gordon, p. 37.

[21] "Whom Shall We Follow," *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, February 1859, p. 518.

[22] "Intercourse with Missionaries," *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, January 1859, p. 467.

[23] "Thoughts on the Times," *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, August 1858, p. 221.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 230.

[26] "Progressive Reforms," *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, June 1858, p. 225.

The Journalist as Storyteller: An Interdisciplinary Perspective

STEVE M. BARKIN

George Ball, the former U.S. under secretary of state, charged in 1980 that television had treated the Iranian hostage crisis as a "soap opera." In a published interview, Ball said the network coverage had transformed the event, influencing American foreign policy by turning the hostage seizure into "one of the great events of our time":

> The idea of television cameras taking pictures of people who shake their fists on direction every night became an absurdity. The networks were used. They were used for the simple reason that they were there, and there was nothing the mob wanted better than this kind of recognition. . . . CBS counts the days. It's absolutely childish.[1]

The manipulation of the networks may have been transparent, but the reasons for their vulnerability are probably not as simple as Ball suggested. After all, both broadcast and print journalists found a good deal to like in the hostage story: an Ayatollah who for editorial cartoonists became the embodiment of evil; a U.S. President, staking his political career on a resolution of the crisis; hostage wives and children, seemingly never far from the journalists' reach; a global story that could be focused on 52 more-or-less average Americans; and, for the benefit of television, visuals, from chanting mobs to Christmas messages.

Few media critics said then or later that the hostage crisis was not a good story. Indeed, implicit in the criticism of media performance was the suggestion that the dramatic aspects of the hostage-taking were seductive and that the media, thoroughly seduced, became unwitting agents of the Iranian mob. Ball's "soap opera" argument is allied to the presumption that when the journalist becomes a "storyteller" (which may extend to the labels "dramatist" or "entertainer"), objectivity is necessarily compromised and the journalist no longer serves the truth. In the resulting formulation, the journalist must make a choice between telling stories and reporting facts. It is assumed that those who choose to tell stories are involved primarily in

staging dramas for the enjoyment of an audience. This essay suggests that journalists have a more important cultural function to perform in their role as storytellers.

Storytelling is one of the oldest art forms in the world. The first storytellers, progenitors of troubadours and minstrels, were perhaps the first conscious literary communicators.[2] Even today, in relatively primitive societies, the storyteller has a vital social function. In a study based on field work in northern Alaska, Rooth found that storytellers in that culture linked people together by stressing that which was common to all.[3] To the extent that news is frequently defined by the number of people affected, journalists perform a similar function. For example, the subject of inflation becomes in this context more than an economic topic; it is a story with universal applications. As giant corporation, small businessman, and welfare recipient struggle with the impersonal force of rising prices, the demon is somehow shared. The journalist/storyteller makes sharing of this nature possible by personalizing the news. When stories are told in human terms, they become more accessible.

The news magazine cover story, pioneered by Henry Luce at *Time*, personalized the news in such a manner that individuals were brought into the vortex of events. Just as significant, rarely in the news magazines are those individuals the passive victims of uncontrollable forces or institutions. People are important precisely because they are forces within themselves, with the power to affect events. Individuals are capable of taking hold of their environment, and, if not molding it, at least battling with its abstract and impersonal forces—for instance, "inflation" and "recession." As Halberstam wrote, Luce was sensitive at the outset to the process of involving readers with the news:

> [Luce] had a powerful sense of what people should read, what was good for them to read, and an essential belief worthy of the best journalist, that any subject of importance could be made interesting. Thus the cover story, the personalizing of issues so that a lay reader could become more interested and more involved in serious reading matter. The cover story alone had a major impact on the journalism of our age.[4]

The emphasis on individual newsmakers was also evident in *Time*'s "Man of the Year," identified as the most influential or significant individual in the news of the past twelve months.

Historically, the news magazine cover story has functioned as scenario, a dramaturgical device for juxtaposing personalities and encompassing themes ("Carter vs. Inflation"). Warner, examining the mass media generally, observed that journalists, almost by definition, are dramatists:

> [The newsman's] tale must arouse and hold the interest of his readers.... There must be villains and heroes in every paper, and the story lines must conform to the usage of suspense, conflict, the defeat of evil, and the triumph of good that have guided the good sense and artistry of past storytellers and controlled their audience's ability to respond.[5]

The *dramatis personae* in the journalist's "company" act in such a way as to evoke themes and their implications; but act they must, even if

> the empirical facts of an event for those who write and read [are] no more than a passing illustration of the deeper evocative "truths" of the nonlogical symbols of our culture.[6]

Storytellers make sense of the world. They organize phenomena into scenarios, which imply that there are reasons for what has happened. Journalists compartmentalize human activity by placement (in sports or finance or "Lifestyle"); by tone (hard news, editorial, news analysis, feature); and by narrative structure. Further, events which may seem accidentally or casually related are often interpreted thematically in the news. A bungled U.S. vote in the United Nations, terrorism in Colombia, and internal unrest in Iran are thus conjoined as manifestations of the general failure of diplomacy in the world.[7]

The significance of the individual is not lost on the storyteller or the journalist. One *Newsweek* editor says a principal attribute of the stories his magazine considers is "resonance," the extent to which the events and personalities being reported upon speak to a larger, thematic story.[8] For the newsmagazines, the death of Elvis Presley was an especially "resonant" story: The singer was treated as an individual who "galvanized the unstated yearnings of an age."[9]

While storytellers perform an explanatory function (in many cultures, stories told how certain features came into being, such as why the raven is black or why the bear has a short tail), they also stress the importance of the inexplicable. There has always been a place in storytelling for the magical—the unexplained cure, the intervention of forces or spirits. The point of such stories is to illustrate that whatever our knowledge, it is ultimately not enough to explain the mysteries of the natural environment.

On first examination, there seems to be very little magic in the practice of journalism. Reporters are trained in cause-and-effect reasoning. Facts that cannot be attributed are unlikely to appear in print or on the air. Yet some stories may resist explanation. Tuchman writes that news "sometimes uses symbols as the representation of reality and presents them as the product of forces outside human control."[10] Tornadoes, riots, hurricanes—these may become "alien, reified" forces outside the realm of human control.[11]

When Pope John Paul II visited the United States, many journalists took the opportunity to infuse their reportage with a dose of the magical. Garry Wills, writing in *Columbia Journalism Review*, noted that "miracles abounded, crowds surged, the pope glowed, and the press swooned."[12] A passage from the *New York Post* conveyed the tone of much of the coverage: "For 29 hours and 34 minutes this Pope, this Polish priest, this common man sent shimmers of magic through cathedral and arenas and along 58 miles of New York streets."[13]

Although defending such rhetorical excess may be difficult, journalists did play a similar role in covering the return of the hostages in Iran and the Bicentennial of 1976, confirming those events as moments for celebration and sometimes evoking wonder in the process. From a sociological perspective, journalists *constitute* these events as national celebrations. In so doing, they sustain their particular culture by reinforcing its beliefs and values. The news value of certain ceremonial stories, as John Chancellor and Walter R. Mears have suggested in *The News Business*, may be a function of the primal, emotional associations made by readers and viewers in responding to such events.

In that sense the marriage of Prince Charles to Lady Diana Spencer was not only a story about a monarch-to-be, nor a story about the pomp and pageantry of the wedding ceremony:

> It was a world-wide audience of people [drawn to the story] who grew up on princes and princesses, on the Brothers Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen and the changing of the guard at Buckingham Palace. She was Cinderella and maybe he used to be a frog. . . . It was a news story about childhood tales shared the over.[14]

As Chancellor and Mears noted, the story of Prince Charles and Lady Diana was essentially a "shared fairy tale." Its narrative structure and widespread appeal were related to the structure and universal appeal of an archetypal story form, the fairy tale.

Traditionally, storytellers have served a pedagogical function. Stories provide lessons to be drawn and, through the force of example, present guidelines for socially acceptable behavior. Journalistic stories of crime and punishment, of guilt and retribution, affirm the social order by demonstrating that lawbreakers eventually do not go unpunished. The most compelling and elaborate guilt-and-retribution scenario in recent years, the Watergate scandal, was repeatedly cited as evidence that "the system worked." In serving the "system" by providing reassurance that even the president was not above the law, the Watergate story again sustained the culture by reinforcing its beliefs and values and by dramatically purging individuals who did not share them.

Throughout history, storytellers have sustained the bond between humankind and the natural environment or the cosmos. Every culture has its winter and summer stories, harvest and hunting tales. Journalists rarely look to the cosmos, but there is a cyclical component to much of what they write about. Seasonal stories are staples of American journalism, whether tied to holidays and vacations, the beginning of the weekend or the school year, or the sports calendar. National political stories, meanwhile, are part of a quadrennial cultural rite: the presidential election. In *The Pulse of Politics*, James David Barber offered a cyclical interpretation of American politics.[15] Elections, he said, are dominated by three recurring themes—conflict, conscience, and conciliation. In an election characterized by conflict, the emphasis is on the campaign as a battle for power between fighting politicians. Four years later, reactions have set it, and the campaign of conscience has a moralistic, anti-political tone, focusing on personal character. The cycle is completed after another four years in a campaign of conciliation, the politics of bringing us together.

Barber conceded that the 12-year scenario was an over-simplification, but the premises of his argument have particular utility in this discussion. Namely, the role of the journalist as storyteller is central to the narrative view of political campaigns.

> His [the journalist's] attention is attuned to notice, in the flux of facts, just those features that lend themselves to interesting, novel narrative. . . . Reporters are sentient beings and thus selective perceivers. Whatever their political leanings or personal biases, their *professional* interest is strongly focused on extracting stories from events. They look in order to tell. As historians of the

> present, they look for the significant—that is, news that may affect their readers' future for good or ill. So any strung-out sequence of connected events with fateful implications is grist for the journalistic mill. The story must persuade the reader—from paragraph one—that the events reported *will* make a difference.[16]

The media, Barber contended, have been instrumental in transforming campaign event into campaign saga. That dramatization is part of the journalistic imperative to make the world comprehensible. Journalists are impelled to drama, "not as mere decoration, but as a skill essential to the craft of communication."[17]

In the case of political journalism, storytelling may be shrouded by a cloak of neutrality and objectivity. The new journalism of the 1960s and 1970s, on the other hand, was the practice of self-conscious storytelling. As described by Tom Wolfe, new journalism involved the use of fictional techniques (scene-setting, point of view, status detail, extended dialogue) to tell a non-fictional story.[18] Moreover, for the practitioner of new journalism, technique suggests purpose. The adoption of fictional techniques signals an explicit return to the storyteller's emotional function.

Storytellers have in their tales evoked fear, pity, and wonder, allowing the oral medium to transport us out of ourselves. Literary style may differ from oral style, but the emotional product of storytelling is not bound to the genre employed. Jette's description of vocal technique conveys the narrative art:

> The storyteller speaks slowly, in a sort of mysterious undertone, which contributes, together with the darkness and the wonderful character of the fact presented, to cast a sort of awe on the audience. As the story develops, the interest increases: peals of laughter, exclamations of commiseration or disgust, reflections on the characters and actions described, conjectures as to what is going to follow, soon cross each other from all quarters. The intense interest and excitement then displayed I cannot better compare than to the impressions manifested by the audience in our theatres.[19]

Contemporary journalism offers many examples of storytelling at this emotional level. One is presented here. Jon Franklin of the Baltimore *Evening Sun* won a Pulitzer Prize in 1979 for a series of feature articles describing an unsuccessful operation on a patient with a brain aneurysm. The series was titled "Tales from the Gray Frontier."

> The going becomes steadily more difficult and bloody. Millimeter, millimeter, treacherous millimeter the tweezers burrow a tunnel through Mrs. Kelly's mind. Blood flows, the tweezers buzz, the suction slurps. Push and probe. Cauterize. Suction. Push and probe. More blood. Then the tweezers lie quiet.
>
> "I don't recognize anything," the surgeon says. He pushes farther and finds a landmark.
>
> Then, exhausted, Dr. Ducker disengages himself, backs away, sits down on a stool and stares straight ahead for a long moment. The brainstem is close, close.
>
> "This is a frightening place to be," whispers the doctor.

> In the background the heart monitor goes pop, pop, pop, pop. 70 beats a minute steady. The smell of ozone and burnt flesh hangs thick in the air.
>
> It is 11:05 a.m.[20]

Barber says the idea of the reporter as blotter, passively soaking in information, is "trivial and naive."[21] Even so, acceptance of the journalist's storyteller function is resisted by media critics and some scholars. A dramaturgical metaphor has been applied frequently to human communication, but journalism is still not generally regarded as an institutionalized form of symbolic action.[22]

If it were, such a view would be predicated on these assumptions, derived from Burke and articulated by Gronbeck:

> (1) *"Man is the symbol-using (symbol-making, symbol-misusing) animal"*; (2) symbols—and the society which invents, promulgates, and sanctions them—are determinative of any individual's perception or apprehension of the world, attitudes, values, and behaviors, i.e. that human beings find "meanings" and "meaningfulness" only in symbolic processes; (3) humans are born into, nurtured by, and in large measure controlled through a series of symbolic environments . . . a web of meanings habitually associated with particular symbols in particular arenas-of-discourse.[23]

Journalism is such a symbolic environment, where institutional constraints, including competition, division of labor, deadline, and technology, influence the character of stories presented. But a story itself is a symbolic process. Journalists define their activities—and thus their products—as they meet the storytelling imperative. As Gans and Tuchman have pointed out in recent studies, journalists trade not only in events, but in values.[24] By their nature, journalistic stories reinforce a particular view of social reality. The newsmagazine cover story speaks to the potency of individual action. The premise of investigative reporting is that society is redeemable. Political reporting rests on the assumption that the contest matters, that there is something worth winning. Acting as storytellers, journalists play an important role in affirming and maintaining the social order.

Notes

[1] "The Hostages as 'Soap Opera,'" *Newsweek*, 17 November 1980, p. 57.

[2] See Marie L. Shedlock, *The Art of the Story-Teller* (New York: Dover, 1951), p. xvii.

[3] Anna Birgitta Rooth, *The Importance of Storytelling: A Study Based on Field Work in Northern Alaska* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1976).

[4] David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 48

[5] W. Lloyd Warner, "Mass Media: The Transformation of a Political Hero" in James E. Combs and Michael W. Mansfield (eds.), *Drama in Life: The Uses of Communication in Society* (New York: Hastings House, 1976), p. 203.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 204

[7] The individual topics were treated in a *Time* cover story on the failure of diplomacy, March 17, 1980.

[8] Henry W. Hubbard of *Newsweek*'s Washington staff made the comment at the University of Maryland College of Journalism in a lecture on October 3, 1979.

[9] "All Shook Up," *Newsweek*, August 29, 1977, p. 56.

[10] Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1978), p. 213.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

[12] Garry Wills, "The Greatest Story Ever Told," *Columbia Journalism Review*, 18:25-33 (January-February 1980), p. 26.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] John Chancellor and Walter R. Mears, *The News Business* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 104.

[15] James David Barber, *The Pulse of Politics: Electing Presidents in the Media Age* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1980).

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Tom Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 3-52.

[19] J. Jette, "On Ten'a Folk-Lore," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 38 (1908). Cited by Rooth, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[20] Jon Franklin, "Tales from the Gray Frontier: Terrifying Journey Through Tunnels of the Brain," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, December 12, 1978, p. A-3.

[21] Barber, *op. cit.*

[22] For an introduction to the dramaturgical perspective, see Combs and Mansfield, *op. cit.* Key discussions of symbolic action are found in Kenneth Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), and Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Symbols in Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

[23] Bruce E. Gronbeck, "The Rhetoric of Political Corruption: Sociolinguistic, Dialectical, and Ceremonial Processes," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 64 (Spring 1978), p. 158. Point number one is quoted from Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action*, p. 16.

[24] Tuchman, *op. cit.*,; and Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News* (New York: Pantheon, 1979).

The Baltimore *Afro-American* and the Election Campaigns of FDR

J. WILLIAM SNORGRASS

At the end of the Civil War in America blacks enjoyed a newly found power—the power of the ballot. The black press played an important role in the political struggle for control of that power. Henry G. La Brie III, an authority on black publications, once noted that "the black press stands along with the black church as the most powerful influence on black thought in America."[1] From its founding in America, in 1827, to 1928 the black press, generally, remained loyal to the Republican Party. Three major reasons account for this loyalty: (1) The Republican Party as the party of Abraham Lincoln, who had been credited with the abolishment of slavery; (2) The investments of republicans in black newspapers, especially in the South; (3) The lack of interest of the Democratic Party in the black vote.

In an article which appeared in the spring 1951 issue of *Journalism Quarterly*, Armistead S. Pride, a noted scholar of the black press, quoted Rashey B. Morton, Jr. as explaining:

> While little effort needed to be exerted to get the Negro to vote for the party, it was necessary to be sure that he did vote. Here was where the colored newspaper proved its worth. Before an election, the newspaper would attempt to make each individual realize that everything, perhaps his liberty, was at stake, and that the Negroes must vote their full strength to keep their "friend" in power.[2]

The exact influence newspapers have in influencing voters to vote for a certain candidate has not been clearly established. However, Cecelia Van Auken pointed out in a December 1949 article in *Journalism Quarterly* concerning the 1948 presidential campaign of Harry S. Truman that "It was to have been expected that Negro editors would influence the vote of Negro voters more than editors of the white press would sway white voters,

because of the Negro editor's reputed leadership among members of his race."[3]

Although republicans courted the black press in order to control the black vote, equality and full participation in the party were denied. Martin E. Dann explained in *The Black Press, 1827-1890*: "Though the Republican Party granted some concessions to blacks, it refused to recognize them as equals."[4] By 1932 the time was ripe for a change. In 1928 several leading black newspapers, including the Baltimore *Afro-American*, for the first time gave their support to a democratic candidate for the presidency, Alfred E. Smith. In 1932 even more black newspapers switched to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Some would stay with Roosevelt during his four terms; others would not. This study will examine the positions taken by one black newspaper that did not go all the way with Roosevelt.

This study is not meant to be a survey of the black press on this subject but an examination of the relationship between the Baltimore *Afro-American*, one of the leading and most powerful black newspapers of the period, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, one of the best-known presidents in American history. This relationship will be discussed within the cultural setting of the time and the reasons for the positions taken by the newspaper will be examined. The *Afro-American* gave its support to Roosevelt in 1932; however, the honeymoon did not last, and an on-again, off-again relationship began that would last through the 1944 campaign.

Methods

Primarily, the materials used in this article were drawn from original editions of the Baltimore *Afro-American* for the years 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944. These years were selected to provide complete coverage of the election campaigns from January through November. December issues were also examined to cover the paper's attitude following the election. Each paper (52 issues per year) was read thoroughly, with particular attention given to the front and editorial pages.

Since the cultural setting of the time probably had as much influence on the positions taken by the *Afro-American* as the paper would have on prospective voters, several books and articles concerning history and politics during the period were consulted.

A Brief History of the *Afro-American*

The *Afro-American* (often referred to as the *Afro*) was founded by William H. Alexander in Baltimore in August 1892. Shortly thereafter, John H. Murphy Sr. purchased the paper for $200 and merged it with his existing small religious publication, the *Sunday School Helper*. Murphy turned the enterprise into one of America's leading black commercial publications. Starting with a circulation of 250, by 1929 the *Afro-American* claimed to reach 37,000 homes in Baltimore alone and estimated its readership at 75,000. By this time the paper had strongly penetrated the Eastern Seaboard from the Carolinas to Massachusetts.

From its meager beginning as a four-page tabloid, by 1929 the *Afro-*

American had grown to a standard-sized newspaper, publishing 20 to 28 pages per issue. Included were sections of sports news, social activities, church news and news concerning business and industry, along with the general news. The paper also contained a 12-page "Illustrated Feature" insert. This contained a news photo section, entertainment news, short stories and long-running serials, which were popular items of the time.

In 1924 the Afro-American Publishing Company purchased its own printing press, which was uncommon for black publications of the time. In 1927, *Opportunity* magazine conducted a survey of black newspapers in the United States. Eugene Gordon, an editorial writer for the Boston *Post*, compiled the results, which listed the *Afro-American* first in news, first in general make-up and third in all-around quality. By 1930 the *Afro* was billing itself as the "Nation's Biggest All-Negro Weekly."[6]

Murphy stayed at the helm of the paper until his death in 1922. His son, Dr. Carl Murphy, then took control and guided the paper as president of the organization during the period of this study. By 1932 the *Afro-American* had become one of America's largest and most influential black publications.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover (1932)

Although the depression was of major concern to blacks during the 1932 presidential campaign, their economic woes had begun several years before the stock market crash of 1929. John Hope Franklin, a noted scholar of black history, pointed out in his book *From Slavery to Freedom*: "When the first signs of recession appeared in the middle of the twenties, thousands of Negroes lost their jobs, but they were counted as casualties of a technological age in which several million persons were expected to be unemployed. When the crash came in October 1929 many Negroes were already suffering from economic depression."[7] However, Franklin explained:

> It was not easy for the Negro to desert the Republican party in 1932, and many of them remained true to the tradition and voted for the party of Lincoln. They continued to have the feeling that the "best people" voted Republican. Few Negroes outside New York were acquainted with Roosevelt, and he had aroused little enthusiasm as a public figure.[8]

Although the *Afro-American* was highly critical of Herbert Hoover during the 1932 presidential campaign, it did not readily throw its support to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Early in the campaign the *Afro-American* told its readers that "the only party to support is the party that will support you."[9] During the early days of the campaign, the *Afro* showed more disdain for Hoover than it showed enthusiasm for Roosevelt.

Although it may be considered trivia by some, the *Afro-American* took issue with Hoover for refusing to be photographed with any black delegation visiting the White House. This included the War Memorial Commission, which he appointed, and Mary McLeod Bethune, who headed the commission. However, in late September of 1932 the president invited members of a black Republican campaign committee to the White House and was photographed with the group. The *Afro-American* took this as an

"insult" to black voters and used the incident to attack Hoover on other points. A front-page editorial warned:

> The Hoover in those photographs is the same who sent Gold Star Mothers to France in jim crow ships. He's the same Hoover who put the Tenth Cavalry to work doing chores and advised Liberia that what it needed was a white dictator.[10]

The editorial explained that Hoover had not "reformed or repented, but he needs votes and like any ward politician in a pinch, he'll do almost anything to get them."[11] The paper also recalled that "Mr. Hoover walked into the Howard University Commencement exercise (June 1931) . . . spoke for three minutes, and walked out without a handshake."[12]

However, Roosevelt did not enter the 1932 presidential campaign completely unknown to the *Afro-American*, nor was he considered a friend. The paper had severely criticized Roosevelt for remarks he had made concerning Haiti in 1920 when he was a candidate for vice-president on the Democratic ticket. Roosevelt was reported in the *Afro* as having asserted in a speech at Butte, Montana that "he wrote the present constitution of Haiti, and considered it a pretty good one."[13] The paper took issue with Roosevelt and claimed the constitution paved the way for foreign capital to exploit the little republic, and provided, "for this country's [the United States] assumption of a virtual dictatorship over Haitian affairs."[14]

One of the first signs that the *Afro-American* might give its support to Roosevelt came in September. Comparing the activities of the two major candidates, the *Afro* pointed out to its readers:

> On September 2, President Herbert Hoover, candidate for re-election in November on the Republican ticket, was photographed with members of the Gamma Sigma Fraternity, white.
>
> Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate, made an address at Bridgeport, Connecticut, September 3, in which he mentioned "the forgotten man" and asserted that the G.O.P. had failed to provide equal justice or to consider that government must provide for the high, the middle and the low.[15]

The paper told its readers that the "low part certainly includes us whether we reside on Druid Hill Avenue or in Shields Alley [in Baltimore]."[16]

By mid-October the *Afro-American* began to sway toward the Roosevelt camp. This was due in part to the persuasiveness of Roosevelt and his campaign promises on racial issues. The October 15 issues of the *Afro* carried a front-page story quoting Roosevelt as saying: "I believe in equal economic and legal opportunity for all groups, regardless of race, color or creed."[17]

On October 29, the *Afro-American* carried another front-page story with a banner headline proclaiming "F.D.R. Is For Square Deal." The story quoted Roosevelt as saying: "If elected to the presidency I will accord colored citizens of this country as full a measure of citizenship in every detail of my administrative power as accorded citizens of any other race or group."[18] This was what the Republican party had failed to promise or show for the many years of support by black voters.

When asked by an *Afro-American* reporter if this meant consideration

of governmental appointments and if he would see that colored men and women were not discriminated against, Roosevelt replied, "I most assuredly will."[19] This statement appears to have gained him acceptance and support from the *Afro-American*. He was endorsed on the editorial page of the same issue of the paper. The *Afro* proclaimed, "We need in the White House a great Humanitarian,"[20] and believed that that man could be Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and Alfred M. Landon

Some things had improved for blacks in America by the 1936 presidential campaign. Generally, the *Afro-American* supported President Roosevelt's New Deal policies, but there were still some issues that remained unresolved which would greatly influence the paper in its choice for the presidency. Two major issues were race relations and states' rights vs. a strong federal government. John Hope Franklin claimed that one of Roosevelt's "most important factors in the achievement of political respectability on the part of blacks was the New Deal policy of securing the assistance of Negro specialists and advisers in various governmental departments."[21] These blacks became known as Roosevelt's Black Cabinet.

However, all was not well on the race relations front. Since the 1920s, blacks had pushed unsuccessfully for a federal anti-lynching bill. Franklin pointed out: "In the very first year of the new century more than 100 Negroes were lynched, and before the outbreak of World War I the number of the century had soared to more than 1,100."[22] Norman E. W. Hodges claimed that 3,436 lynchings occurred between 1889 and 1921, including 83 women.[23] Leslie H. Fishel and Benjamin Quarles pointed out in *The Black American*: "The annual incidence of Negro lynchings continued high through 1922, declined in the late 1920s and early 1930s but did not drop below 10 consistently until 1935."[24]

The administration remained mute on the passage of an anti-lynching bill during Roosevelt's first term, and he was to be blamed for this action, or non-action. The *Afro-American* attacked the president for "not acting forcefully"[25] on such a bill; however, Landon himself was to become Roosevelt's greatest asset on the issue of race relations. In a speech before the American Legion in Wichita, Kansas in September, Landon said, "This fomenting of racial feeling is not serious as yet. It would be tragic if it should become serious."[26] The *Afro-American* responded by asking, "What does the Governor mean by that? Does he want a lynching on the Capitol steps . . . before he regards American race prejudice and the business of making it serious?"[27]

Later the same month the *Afro-American* carried a story by Kelly Miller comparing Landon to Roosevelt. The story pointed out that "Roosevelt's attitude towards and friendship for the colored race is expressed in deeds rather than words, while Landon's is expressed in neither deeds or words."[28] The article explained that Roosevelt had appointed or assigned more blacks to government positions than any president since Theodore Roosevelt.

Mrs. Roosevelt also proved to be a great asset to the president in the area of race relations. The following reference to her is taken from a story which appeared in the Sept. 26, 1936 issue of the *Afro-American*:

> Mrs. Roosevelt, the President's helpmate and companion, is deeply and vitally concerned with the question of social justice and civil righteousness. She does not disdain to include the colored race in this ennobling circle. Her sympathy for, and her interest in, the welfare of the race is no less manifested than that of her distinguished husband.[29]

Roosevelt's New Deal had by no means solved the depression or the racial problems in America; however, many black voters and black newspapers supported his efforts. George W. Bain suggested in his study of "How Negro Editors Viewed the New Deal" that "Through the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the development of his New Deal program, the Negro in America came to see a new place for himself in our national life."[30] Bain also explained that "The Negro newspapers [including the *Afro-American*] were favorable, overall, to the New Deal administration."

However, Roosevelt's New Deal introduced another issue during his campaign for a second term in the White House. This issue centered on states' rights under Landon as opposed to a strong federal government under Roosevelt. It was soon apparent that the *Afro-American* preferred the latter. The Landon philosophy was the same as would be espoused by a future Republican president in 1982, Ronald Reagan. Landon called for "re-entrenchment, balancing the budget, ending large government expenditures and turning relief back to the states."[31] In response to Landon's call, the *Afro-American* replied in an editorial:

> Fortunately, in our country are millions of commonsense American women and men who believe that this nation which spent twenty-six billion dollars abroad to help European allies win a world war can afford to spend half that sum to keep its own jobless from starving.[32]

Landon also proposed to turn unemployment insurance and social security over to the states. In a lengthy editorial the *Afro-American* responded: "If Governor Landon were older and more experienced in government, he'd know that there are fourteen states that can't be trusted to administer relief, old-age pensions or unemployment insurance for colored people." The editorial went on to point out:

> These fourteen States would rob us systematically just as they do in administering school funds under which colored teachers receive only one-third the salaries paid white teachers for doing the same work.
>
> In these same fourteen States, every colored postal employee and every other government worker draws the same salary as a white employee of his classification. We can trust the Federal Government.
>
> Our only guarantee of equal pensions, equal unemployment insurance, and equal relief check lies in a Federal plan which the jim crow States in the lynching belt cannot touch.[33]

There were other issues during the campaign on which Roosevelt's stand drew loud applause from the *Afro-American*. One such issue concerned participation in a political party. Blacks had long been denied full

participation in either major political party in America; however, according to the *Afro-American*, Roosevelt had made some drastic changes. His treatment of blacks supporting the Democratic party drew this response from the paper:

> Roosevelt is the first Democratic President to say to the Southern members of his party: "We are going to treat colored Democrats in the North exactly like we treat white Democrats. If you don't like it, take a walk." The Southern boys may not like it, but they are not doing much walking.[34]

When the *Chicago Tribune* suggested that if reelected President Roosevelt might appoint an anti-Negro judge to the Supreme Court, the *Afro-American*, although not praising Roosevelt, came to his defense and reminded its readers that "the record of the Supreme Court in protecting the rights of the colored people is a matter of history . . . nothing Mr. Roosevelt can do could make it any worse."[35] During the closing days of the campaign the *Afro-American* summed up the candidates for its readers:

> The candidates of the four major parties have put on a grand show for the past six weeks; and various straw polls indicate they will finish in the following order: Roosevelt (Dem.), Landon (Rep.), (Norman) Thomas (Socialist), and (Earl) Browder (Communist).
>
> As effective campaign speakers the four should be rated thus: Roosevelt, Browder, Thomas, Landon. If all four had an equal chance of election the colored people would fare better under Browder, with Thomas, Roosevelt and Landon falling in that order.
>
> In the closing days of the campaign both Communist and Socialist have conceded a Roosevelt victory. Mr. Thomas said all Roosevelt had to say is "Remember Hoover," and the voters cried "Save me."[36]

The *Afro-American* pointed out that the issue was not between "relief and private jobs with big business. It is between relief and starvation; and of the two we prefer relief."[37] The editorial went on to explain that: "Relief and WPA are not ideal, but they are better than the Hoover bread lines and they'll have to do until the real thing comes along."[38] Putting aside its disappointment in Roosevelt for not pushing for an anti-lynching bill and preferring a strong federal government to states' rights, the *Afro-American* chose Roosevelt for a second term over Landon as president of the United States.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell L. Willkie (1940)

In addition to the unresolved issues of an anti-lynching bill, unemployment, and the resistance of the administration to include domestic and farm workers under the social security system, the *Afro-American* concerned itself with some new issues during the 1940 presidential campaign. These concerned the treatment of blacks in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)

and in the military. Roosevelt would not fare well in either of these matters.

The CCC was established in 1933 to provide work for unemployed men between 18 and 25 on conservation projects. The recruits were sent to camps and provided room and board and clothing. A strict policy of segregation was maintained in these camps; however, Franklin estimated that "approximately 200,000 Negro boys and young men worked in the camps."[39] It was over the matter of assigning white personnel to control black CCC camps that the *Afro-American* took the administration to task during the campaign.

When Cabinet members Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, and Henry Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, assigned only white officers, superintendents, foremen, doctors, and chaplains to the 150 black companies in CCC camps, the *Afro-American* called it a "snotty trick" and claimed blacks were gypped out of 1500 jobs and a $3,000,000 payroll. The paper pointed out:

> We have hundreds of (black) reserve army officers available for CCC camps and we have thousands who could do the technical work required of camp foremen and superintendents . . . and when we come down to the 75 white doctors and the 18 white ministers serving colored CCC camps, what is the FDR-Ickes-Wallace excuse except that the Federal Government approves indecent discrimination on account of color.[40]

As war clouds began to gather for World War II, blacks in America found themselves in a very familiar position. What role, if any, would they play if America became involved? Previously, they had to fight for the right to defend their country. Ulysses Lee pointed out in his book *The U.S. Army in World War II, The Employment of Negro Troops*: "As the conflict which was to become World War II approached, Negroes asked with increasing frequency for the opportunity that they believed to be rightfully theirs in the first place: The opportunity to participate in the defense of their country in the same manner and on the same basis and in the same service as other Americans."[41] Franklin explained:

> The policy of the War Department became clearer in the fall of 1940 when a statement was issued that Negroes would be received into the army on the general basis of the proportion of the Negro population of the country. Negroes were to be organized into separate units, however: and existing Negro units that were officered by Whites would receive no Negro officers other than medical officers and chaplains. Negroes were furious and made known their indignation.[42]

President Roosevelt, C. W. Nimitz, Chief of the Navy Bureau, and Henry Stimson, Secretary of War, came under attack by the *Afro-American* during the election campaign for allowing policies of segregation and discrimination to be upheld in the army and navy. The paper pointed out in an October 12 editorial that "Last week, President Roosevelt skipped over Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, one of the two colored combat officers in the regular army, in promoting 100 colonels to the rank of brigadier general."[43]

The same editorial quoted Nimitz as saying, "After many years of experience, the policy of not enlisting men of the colored race for any branch of the naval service except the mess-man branch (cooks, maids, and waiters) was adopted to meet the best interest of general ship efficiency."[44] The army plan was similar. Stimson "called for separate colored units in the infantry, cavalry, field artillery, engineers, chemical, and quartermaster divisions."[45]

The *Afro-American* did not believe that the president did not have a hand in the formulation of these policies. "Mr. Roosevelt is not ignorant of the proposed program of his jim-crow twins for us. He knows all about it," the *Afro* declared.[46] The paper considered this strange since it came "at the very time President Roosevelt is campaigning for reelection."[47]

In early November the Roosevelt administration made a move towards appeasement. Benjamin O. Davis was promoted to brigadier general—however, without a command. Dr. William A. Hastie was appointed civilian aide to the Secretary of War. Major Campbell C. Johnson, U.S. Army Reserve, was named a special assistant to the director of the draft. Four hundred black women and 18 Urban League secretaries were invited to the White House. However, this was too little and too late as far as the *Afro-American* was concerned. Two weeks previous, the paper had pledged its support to Wendell L. Willkie, the Republican candidate.

It appears the *Afro-American* was impressed with Willkie from the beginning. The paper stated in an August editorial, "You cannot read Wendell Willkie's speech accepting the Republican nomination without thrilling to the challenge he offers."[48] Willkie had pledged to "preserve our country as a land free of hate and bitterness of racial and class distinctions."[49] The *Afro* claimed no president had ever gone that far on racial issues.

Willkie's views on race were not new to the *Afro-American*. In March of 1942 he called the U.S. Navy's discrimination policies "damn foolishness." In August 1942 when Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi advocated "transporting colored people back to Africa," Willkie replied, "I have no truck with such people [as Bilbo]," and during the Detroit riots of 1943, he pointed out that blacks were entitled to equal justice, equality in education, voting rights, equal job opportunities, and the right to serve in any branch of the armed services "not as a matter of patronage or tolerance, but as a matter of right."[50]

In the eyes of the *Afro-American*, Willkie outflanked the Roosevelt administration on racial issues in the military and went a step further. When Congress passed a draft bill in September 1940 authorizing "conscription of civilians for all military service without discrimination as to race or color," Roosevelt talked of a 10 percent color representation in all combat units. Willkie pledged "to do away with racial discrimination in the armed forces (army, navy, marine corps) and the civil service as well."[51]

In addition to the racial issues of segregation and discrimination in CCC camps and in the military, the *Afro-American* opposed Roosevelt for other reasons. The *Afro* did not believe in a third term for any president. "If we take him [Roosevelt] for twelve years, we may have to take him for life [as proved the case]... Perpetuation is the stuff out of which royalty, dictators, and tyrants grow," the *Afro* reasoned.[52]

The anti-lynching bill also raised its head during the campaign. The *Afro-American* felt that "a nod from him [Roosevelt] would have caused Congress to make it a law."[53] The failure of the president to bring domestics

and farm workers under the social security system was also cited as a reason for nonsupport. The *Afro-American* pointed out the fact that "over half the colored people are in these classes."[54] On November 2, three days before the election, the *Afro-American* declared, "We have no choice,"[55] but to support Willkie.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and Thomas E. Dewey (1944)

By 1944 blacks in America began to feel the strength of their vote. According to Franklin, the Negro felt "that he could now demand a high price for his support. In addition to demanding that a candidate reflect his views on public questions that interested all Americans, the Negro could also demand that a candidate's views on questions of race be acceptable."[56] During this campaign Roosevelt would remain silent on many of the issues of black concern.

Blacks had made some gains under Roosevelt administrations from 1932 to 1944. However, although represented in all branches of the armed forces, blacks were still segregated and discriminated against in the military and in the defense industry. Hodges explained the ordeals encountered by black soldiers stationed in the states:

> Blacks stationed in the states endured many of the insults and much of the bad treatment that their World War I counterparts had experienced years earlier. They were segregated and insulted by their officers and by civilians and were assigned to inferior facilities relative to those given whites.[57]

Despite President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, issued June 25, 1941, discrimination continued in defense plants. The order stated that:

> There shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color or national origin ... And it is the duty of employers and labor organizations ... to provide for full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin...."[58]

It appears that President Roosevelt and Thomas E. Dewey started evenly in the 1944 presidential race, as far as the *Afro-American* was concerned. In a July editorial the paper commented, "Mr. Roosevelt has made a first-rate president. His preoccupation with the 'forgotten man' has helped all Americans, colored and white alike."[59] In the same editorial the *Afro* praised Dewey's record as governor of New York and warned, "Don't Sell Dewey Short."

Between the time of the drafting of the Republican platform in early July and the drafting of the Democratic platform in late July, Roosevelt may have held a slight lead over Dewey in the eyes of the *Afro-American.* The July 8 edition of the paper carried an editorial headlines "The GOP Record—1872-1944." The editorial outlined each plank in the platform concerning race relations during this period and commented:

> Despite sixteen years of McKinley (William), Roosevelt (Theodore), Taft (William) , and twelve years of Harding (Warren), Coolidge (Calvin), and Hoover (Herbert), years in which Republicans occupied the White House, dominated the Congress and controlled the Supreme Court, not a single pledge was kept . . . Republican four flushers sprinkled their vows in all directions. They never meant to keep them. They meant only to make us think so.

The editorial went on to explain:

> In 1932, disillusioned, we left the GOP in droves. Some of us came back in 1940 because we believed in Willkie (Wendell), not because we trusted the Republican Party.
>
> No one knows better than he (Dewey) his party's rotten record nationally. It can be that he is a fixer. Between now and November we shall find out.[60]

In the same issue the *Afro-American* carried the story of Maj. Richard R. Wright, who had attended Republican National Conventions since 1880. He had just returned from the 1944 convention as a delegate from Pennsylvania. The story quoted the major as saying, "The Republican Party has made no progress since 1880 toward a definite espousal and protection of the rights and privileges of the colored race."[61]

However, the platforms of both major political parties came under fire from the *Afro-American*. Any lead President Roosevelt may have had during this period began to disappear when the Democratic platform was drafted in late July. The plank concerning race, called "The Postcard Democratic Plank" by the *Afro-American*, contained one paragraph of 41 words. This the paper compared to the 108 words, five paragraphs, in the Republican plank. The *Afro* had this to say:

> In addition to its brevity, it [the Democratic plank] is so general that it does not use the word Negro or colored. The party states its belief in equal rights and a vote for minorities as expressed in the Constitution and adds that Congress should see that these rights are protected.[62]

The *Afro-American* claimed that, "All told, this 1944 Democratic plank is not only disappointing to colored Democrats, it is unsatisfactory to colored people."[63] The editorial said further that "certain it is that the great Democratic Party which bid openly for the colored vote in 1940 has withdrawn the glad hand in just four years."[64] Although the president did not speak out on the issue at this point, the *Afro-American* carried the reply of Harry S. Truman, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee and the man the *Afro* would support for the presidency in 1948. During an interview with an *Afro* reporter, Truman said that blacks had made more progress under Roosevelt than under any other president. He said he felt that "the colored voter should ignore the brief Democratic platform and accept the party and its presidential nominee purely on the basis of faith."[65]

At least, the republican platform of 1944 had pledged "to investigate and take whatever legislative action is necessary to correct race discrimination in the armed forces." The *Afro-American* saw this as a "decided

advantage" for the party. However, it commented: "Governor Dewey, the GOP candidate for president, we hope, will have a word to say about this during the campaign."[66] The *Afro* also suggested that President Roosevelt tell, before November 11 (election day), what he proposed to do about the 18,000 blacks serving in the Marine Corps and not one black commissioned officer in the outfit.

On one issue the president and the Democratic party held a distinct advantage, states' rights. When Dewey met with 25 Republican governors to discuss the areas of responsibility of federal, state and local governments, "Many people shivered," according to the *Afro-American.* The paper editorialized:

> Where colored people in the jim crow area have won the rights to vote, to serve on juries, to secure equal schools, to get a job, to be rid of mobs, to buy a house outside accepted ghettos or to ride in a pullman and buy a meal in a diner, these victories have come because they have persuaded the Federal Government to override State policies.[67]

Apparently, the *Afro-American* did not believe in longevity for a president past a second term. The paper had objected to Roosevelt's running for a third term in 1940 and presented an even stronger argument against a fourth term: "If we insist on sixteen years for Roosevelt we may one day be forced to accept sixteen years of a Hoover or even a Bilbo, and for this we shall have only ourselves to blame," the *Afro* reasoned.[68]

Mrs. Roosevelt, who had been a great asset to the president in the past, proved somewhat of a liability during the campaign. She had frequently been attacked by white Southerners concerning her relationships with blacks and support of their causes. Mrs. Roosevelt answered a letter from Mrs. Catherine Stallworth of Evergeen, Alabama and allegedly explained her views on social equality. Mrs. Roosevelt was quoted as having written the following: "I have never advocated any social equality whatsoever, and I do not know of any colored leaders who advocate it." The letter went on to say, "You must realize, I am sure, that much that has been said about my attitude on the color question is distorted and exaggerated by people who are opposed to my husband and me."[69]

The *Afro-American* ran the full text of Mrs. Roosevelt's letter, beginning on page one of the September 16 issue, followed by an editorial on page four and a story on page 19. However, it appears the paper tried to pass off the incident or play it down by explaining that "Mrs. Roosevelt receives so many letters that this reply is evidently composed by a secretary.... It is not a letter that does her credit."[70] A photograph of the First Lady visiting an interracial hospital in New York appeared on the front page of the same issue in which the letter, editorial, and story appeared.

Although the *Afro-American* was highly critical of President Roosevelt, it did not show disrespect or contempt. In analyzing Roosevelt's bid for a fourth term, the paper said, "FDR is an admirable president. If we could keep him without endangering our form of government that would be one matter."[71] When Roosevelt made one of his few campaign speeches in 1944 before the Teamsters Union, the *Afro* commented, "He exuded the Roosevelt charm which at his best, makes him one of the three best campaign speakers in the world; the other two being Churchill and Al Smith."[72] It was not until October 28 that the *Afro-American* finally threw its support to

Dewey.

This issue of the *Afro-American* carried a banner headline on page one, reading "Dewey Pledges Full Citizenship For All." A subheadline quoted Dewey as saying, "My administration will have but one prejudice: It Will Be Prejudice Against Injustice." The accompanying story outlined Dewey's pledges: full citizenship for colored citizens, jobs for all, old-age benefits and benefits for servants and farmers, correction of army and navy segregation and mistreatment, Federal law against lynching, and establishment of a governmental agency to combat race discrimination in other fields, including employment.[73]

It is apparent that Roosevelt's silence on these issues may have cost him support from the *Afro-American* during the campaign. One week after endorsing Dewey and one week prior to the election, the *Afro* stated in an editorial, "At this writing, President Roosevelt has not said a mumbling word about the improvements of race relations."[74]

When the returns were in and Roosevelt had successfully won a fourth term as President of the United States, the *Afro-American* commented, "We are glad it is over. Before the election we were divided into two factions. After the majority speaks, all of us accept the verdict. The newly elected President is the people's President. . . . He is our President."[75]

Conclusions

There is little doubt that race relations was the major factor taken into account by the *Afro-American* in selecting a candidate to support for President of the United States. The *Afro* had stated as early as 1908 that:

> It is true to a very great extent that the *Afro-American* is not interested in tariff revisions and the several other issues which have divided the two great parties . . . largely because the Negro does not enter into the mercantile business of the Nation to such an extent as to have these questions touch him at any vital point . . . There is, however, a point which touches his very life, and that is his rights as a citizen and a man.[76]

Although the *Afro-American* did not immediately and enthusiastically jump on the Roosevelt bandwagon in 1932, Hoover's disregard for blacks and his insensitivity to their problems left the door open for Roosevelt to espouse a philosophy to the liking of the *Afro*, a door Hoover could not close during the waning days of the campaign.

In 1936 the *Afro-American* did not agree with Alfred M. Landon and his states' rights programs. The *Afro* reasoned that practically all gains made by blacks had come from the federal government's overriding of state laws and policies. Thus, it opted for Roosevelt and a strong federal government.

Although the *Afro-American* objectd to Roosevelt's running for a third term in 1940, the major issue for the paper became segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and CCC camps. On this issue Republican Wendell Willkie offered more than Roosevelt and won support from the *Afro*.

It appears Roosevelt's silence on racial issues cost him the support of

the *Afro-American* in 1944. Although it did not approve of a fourth term for the president, the *Afro* appeared to be waiting for Roosevelt to respond to the strong civil rights pledges made by Thomas E. Dewey. When he failed to do so, the paper cast its lot with Dewey.

An *Ebony* magazine article (November 1949) described black publishers as "arch-conservatives in their thinking on every public issue with one exception—the race problem."[77] In politics, it appears the *Afro-American* fitted this mold well during the Roosevelt campaigns.

Postscript

Following the death of President Roosevelt on April 2, 1945, the *Afro-American* called him "one of the most inspiring, fearless and humanitarian leaders of all time."[78] The paper carried two full pages of photographs of the late president and Mrs. Roosevelt with black leaders, dignitaries, and just plain John and Jane Does.

Notes

[1] This remark was made by Henry G. La Brie III while addressing an audience at the first annual Recognition Dinner of the Black Press in Wisconsin. The affair was held in Milwaukee. A similar quote can be found in an article by La Brie entitled "The Arrival of the Black Press," *National Scene*, August 1972, p. 8.

[2] Armistead S. Pride, "Negro Newspapers: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," *Journalism Quarterly*, 28 (1951), 184.

[3] Cecelia Van Auken, "The Negro Press in the 1948 Presidential Election," *Journalism Quarterly*, 26 (1949), 432.

[4] Martin E. Dann, *The Black Press, 1827-1890* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), p. 161.

[5] "Advertising, What Kind Pays?," *The Afro-American*, November 1929, p. 5, cols. 1-2.

[6] "Gordon Survey Gives Afro 2 First in '27," *The Afro-American*, 10 December 1927, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[7] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 4th ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), p. 370.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

[9] "Which Party to Support," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, September 1932, p. 6, cols. 1-2.

[10] "The Hoover Photograph, I Told You So," *The Afro-American*, 9 October 1932, p. 1, cols. 4-6.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] "Roosevelt or Hoover—Roosevelt," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 29 October 1932, p. 6, cols. 1-2.

[13] "Roosevelt's Unguarded Enthusiasm," *The Afro-American*, 27 August 1920, p. 4, col. 5.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] "The Campaign," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 10 September 1932, p. 6, cols. 1-2.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] "Roosevelt For Equal Legal and Economic Opportunity," *The Afro-American*, 15 October 1932, p. 1, cols. 3-8.

[18] "F.D.R. Is For Square Deal," *The Afro-American*, 29 October 1932, p. 1, cols. 3-8.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] "Roosevelt or Hoover—Roosevelt," p. 6.

[21] Franklin, p. 401.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Norman E. W. Hodges, *Breaking the Chains of Bondage* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 308.

[24] Leslie H. Fishel and Benjamin Quarles, *The Black American* (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1970), p. 376.

[25] Andrew Buni, *Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1974), p. 270.

[26] "Landon on Prejudice," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 19 September 1936, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] "Kelly Miller Compares Landon With Roosevelt," *The Afro-American*, 26 September 1936, p. 14, cols. 4-7.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] George W. Bain, "How Negro Editors Viewed the New Deal," *Journalism Quarterly*, 44 (1967), 552.

[31] "How Will We Eat," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 19 September 1936, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] "Selling Us Down The River," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 3 October 1936, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[34] "Roosevelt or Landon," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 26 September 1936, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[35] "Worry About The Nine Old Men," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 3 October 1936, p. 6, cols. 1-2.

[36] "Vote Early," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 31 October 1936, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[37] "Until The Real Thing Comes Along," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 24 October 1936, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Franklin, p. 406.

[40] "$3,000,000 Gyp," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 24 August 1940, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[41] Ulysses Lee, *U.S. Army in World War II, The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1966), p. 51.

[42] Franklin, p. 437.

[43] "Roosevelt Versus Willkie," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 12 October 1940, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] "Willkie's Acceptance Speech," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 24 August 1940, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] "The Willkie We Knew," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 21 October 1944, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[51] "Five Weeks To Decide On Roosevelt Or Willkie," Editorial, *The Afro-*

American, 28 September 1940, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[52] "Roosevelt Or Willkie" Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 19 October 1940, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] "We Have No Choice," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 2 September 1940, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[56] Franklin, p. 400.

[57] Hodges, p. 350.

[58] Franklin, p. 439.

[59] "Don't Sell Dewey Short," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 1 July 1944, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[60] "The GOP Record," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 8 July 1944, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[61] "GOP Has Made No Progress in 60 Years," *The Afro-American*, 8 July 1944, p. 5, cols. 4-8.

[62] "The Postcard Democratic Plank," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 29 July 1944, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] "Ignore Platform, Accept FDR—Truman," Editorial *The Afro-American*, 24 August 1944, p. 14, cols. 1-4.

[66] "Republicans and Army Segregation," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 5 August 1944, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[67] "Dewey, Rosevelt and States' Rights," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 19 August 1944, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[68] "Is This the Year to Be Dumb and Foolish?," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 7 October 1944, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[69] "Is It A Grievious Mistake That We Are Americans?," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 16 September 1944, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[70] "Full Text of Mrs. F.D.R.'s No Social Equality Letter," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 16 September 1944, p. 1, cols. 2-8.

[71] "Is This the Year to be Dumb and Foolish?," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 7 October 1944, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[72] "Mr. Roosevelt at His Best," *The Afro-American*, 30 September 1944, p. 1, cols. 6-8.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] "As Good as Elected," *The Afro-American*, 4 November 1944, p. 1, cols. 6-8.

[75] "All Over Until 1948," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 11 November 1944, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[76] "The Time for Plain Talk," Editorial, *The Afro-American*, 18 August 1948, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[77] "Publishers," *Ebony*, November 1949, p. 47.

[78] "Nation in Silent Tribute," *The Afro-American*, 21 April 1945, p. 1, cols. 1-8.

The Emerging American Newspaper: Discovering The Home Front

DONALD R. AVERY

For many journalism historians, the War of 1812 represents a watershed in the emergence of the American newspaper. Mostly a captive of foreign events and issues, the American newspaper did not put aside its abiding interest in foreign news until the War of 1812; or, so argue journalism historians. Bleyer points out that news "from abroad took precedence over the very limited number of local items" in the newspapers that survived the American Revolution.[1] Mott offers support for the thesis:

> News from overseas had been more important than home news in the country's papers; it had indeed bulked larger than any other categories, except in later years when advertising and politics crowded it.[2]

Such concern with England and Europe ended with the War of 1812, and it was that conflict which "brought home to editors and readers the importance of domestic news."[3] Historians, if they address the question at all, see the war as the seminal event in the shift of American newspapers from foreign to domestic news concerns.[4]

The implication of this traditional view of journalism history is that American editors somehow discovered domestic news during the War of 1812. Surely, the necessity of finding new sources of news when the war isolated American editors from England and Europe, previously a major source of news, would provide the impetus for such a discovery. This conclusion is reasonable and, no doubt, rooted in the editors' experiences during the Revolution when foreign news virtually disappeared from American newspapers.[5]

It is not illogical to suppose that if foreign news decreased dramatically during the Revolution, it could be expected to decrease again during the second war with England. However, this assumes that the level of foreign news remained relatively stable during the intervening years. No historian

has suggested that the ratio of foreign to domestic news content remained unchanged between the two wars, only that domestic news content had to await the War of 1812 to crowd out foreign content. However, there is evidence that, by the beginning of the War of 1812, the dominant content of American newspapers was already domestic news.[6] Based on that evidence, the present study takes the position that the shift from foreign to domestic news did not occur with the beginning of, or during, the War of 1812 but had been an ongoing process for some years prior to that conflict.

The scarce research on the question suggests that historians have not considered the issue of any particular importance. After all, what difference could it make if the newspapers shifted their attention from foreign to domestic news during the War of 1812 or at some other time? The answer may be found in the editors' motivations. If the source of foreign news had been interrupted, the editors would be merely passive hostages to circumstance. If, on the other hand, they consciously chose to print domestic content over foreign content, then this would suggest that they were becoming more American in their outlook.

Newspapers of the Period

The newspapers of the early nineteenth century were little changed from the rabid, partisan publications of the post-Revolutionary period. Generally, they were devoted to one political persuasion or another, and the middle ground be damned. They ran the gamut from the vitriolic *Wasp* of Harry Croswell, so scurrilous that it was often disavowed by the Federalists it supported, to the *Washington* (D.C.) *National Intelligencer*, a newspaper that began life as a mouthpiece for the Jefferson Administration but which is said to have grown more independent over the years.[7] Whether the newspapers' concern for partisan politics was as overwhelming as journalism historians have suggested is debatable; however, the papers were much taken with political issues.

Generally, the press of the period was concerned with foreign news, commercial news, and government news (both state and federal). The three news categories were interrelated to a great extent. Events in Europe or London were not only given a major share of press space, but they were also apt to affect how news of American commerce and government was reported. In fact, a very high percentage of news during the period seems to have been generated because of news from abroad.[8]

Rarely was there an attempt to tie domestic news to news culled from the foreign dispatches. One edition of a newspaper might carry a dispatch from Napoleon, a debate in Congress, reprints of American and continental newspapers, ship arrivals and departures, a letter from the president, a column on the acts of government, and advertising. The material might be related, but the only way the fact was apt to be called to the readers' attention was through a letter to the editor or a passing commentary, written by the editor or by any number of correspondents or political figures.

Newspapers of the period rarely printed a headline in the modern sense. For each one-column headline that read "War With Algiers,"[9] there were dozens that might read "Europe"[10] or "Governor Clinton's Letter."[11] In fact, most newspapers were satisfied with simple labels such as "Domestic," or "Congress," or "The Enquirer." Only main sections received any kind of

title or label.[12]

The newspaper was usually gray, used small type, was monotonous, and lacked continuity.[13] Considering the primitive state of the craft, little more should be expected.[14] Several newspapers carried a series in early 1808 which contained the complete correspondence relating to negotiations between the United States and England over the *Chesapeake* affair.[15] Each newspaper's printing of the correspondence would end without warning, sometimes in the middle of a piece of correspondence. The reader had no way of knowing if it would be continued until the next edition came and on some page would be found: "Continued from our Last."

The modern journalistic requirement that the reader be given sufficient background so that he understands the nature of the story had no place in the journalism of the period. There was rarely any explanation of a report's antecedents. Clearly, editors believed they were producing for a select and informed audience.[16] Since newspapers were costly,[17] were concerned with commerce and high matters of state, and were often given to classical allusions,[18] it seems reasonable to accept the consensus that readers of the period were often the educated elite of the society.[19]

Debates in Congress continued from one edition to the next, much in the way of the *Chesapeake* correspondence. Such debates were sometimes published verbatim in the *National Intelligencer*.[20] Usually, only a summary was carried by newspapers outside of Washington, D.C.[21] In place of a report from Congress, there might be a short note indicating that the mails had not yet come or an editor's comment, following a particularly brief report, such as: "And we fear that a sufficient degree of alarm has not yet entered the walls of Congress."[22] Such commentary often related to nothing in the report.

A major staple of many of the newspapers of the period was letters to the editor and editorial comment thinly disguised as letters to the editor. Over the signature of "Americus" in one edition of the *Richmond Enquirer* ran the following:

> If it is a crime for a belligerent to attempt to change the position of a neutral, then G[reat] Britain has been guilty of the same crime which her friends in this country are charging upon Bonaparte.[23]

Some newspapers used letters to attack the opposition. Such attacks were very much like setting up straw men to be blown away by the editor's pen. Sometimes the attack was satirical, as in the following:

> Governor Clinton's Letter—The following letter is reprinted rather for the amusement of our readers, who may be desirous of knowing how the intrigues for the next presidency are going on, than for any interest we take in anything respecting the writer.[24]

There then follows a letter from George Clinton to the effect that he must abandon his silence on the subject of the presidential and vice-presidential nominations. One suspects that the letter has been mangled, for it makes little sense. The *National Intelligencer* appears to have done the same thing following a reprint from the *Boston Palladium* in which Jefferson's embargo (Embargo Act of 1807) is attacked. The *National Intelligencer* calls the story a "tissue of falsehoods."[25]

The newspapers of the period were nearly all partisan voices.[26] The Federalist newspapers were traditionally pro-British, anti-Jefferson, and anti-French. The Anti-Federalist newspapers were usually pro-French, anti-British, and somewhat anti-commerce.[27] However, whether Federalist or Anti-Federalist, the newspapers were very much concerned with foreign news in the years just prior to the War of 1812.

Methodology and Hypotheses

Because this study takes the position that the shift from foreign to domestic news by American printers was an ongoing process, it was decided that a longitudinal study of the newspapers themselves was required.

Reason dictated that the question could not be studied, as it apparently has been in the past, by looking at isolated newspapers during the War of 1812. Accordingly, this study looked at a random sample of newspapers over a five-year period, from 1808 through 1812. Since there is little evidence that any significant shift in newspaper content occurred in the years just prior to 1808 and because Jefferson's embargo of 1807 offers the earliest opportunity for such a shift to occur, the writer judged 1808 as the best entry point for the study. Because it is the contention of this research that the shift happened prior to the War of 1812, it was felt that no purpose could be served by extending the study beyond 1812.

There were 371 newspapers published in 1810 in the United States and its territories.[28] The majority of publications were to be found in the Mid-Atlantic States, upper South, and New England; and they accounted for 79 percent of the newspapers published in that year. This study did not include newspapers from the deep South and the frontier. These two sections were intentionally ommitted from the population since newspapers from them obtained much of their material from coastal newspapers in the mid-Atlantic states, upper South, and New England. Removing the newspapers published in the deep South and on the frontier yielded a usable population of 284 newspapers to be studied. A 10 percent sample of the population was drawn.[29]

The nature of newspapers is such that they are subject to fluctuations in content and style.[30] Studying a single issue or even several consecutive issues is apt to serve little purpose beyond revealing the story content of those particular editions. Due to the lack of timeliness of news utilized by newspapers of the period studied, serious errors may occur if only consecutive publication dates are studied.[31] The reader may acquire some notion of the newspaper's format, kind of advertising, perhaps even the political stance of the publication. However, such impressions may not reflect the true nature of the publication under study. Any quirks that may occur, such as a publication's utilizing an entire edition for one subject, can generally be accounted for by a systematic study of the newspaper over time. Such a longitudinal analysis should reveal patterns of content and style not possible when studying the newspaper over the short term. Accordingly, the publication schedule of each newspaper was determined, and a random sample of issues for each newspaper was selected utilizing a table of random numbers.[32]

The research method used in this study is quantitative content analysis,

long considered an important tool for the study of communications in its various forms.[33] The methodology may be as simple as counting the number of stories on a given subject carried by a specific newspaper or may be as complex as attempting to measure similarities and differences among newspapers in a revolutionary environment.[34] Content analysis may be so basic as to require only elementary mathematics to achieve findings or may be so sophisticated that the statistical techniques may call for computers with megabytes of capacity.

All newspaper content was measured in inches and then converted to word-counts. The units thus achieved were assigned to a single content category, utilizing Avery's classification scheme.[35] The data were subjected to two statistical tests, analysis of variance,[36] and the Scheffé procedure.[37]

While it is expected that foreign news content will decrease over the five-year period, the only research to address the question is the writer's preliminary study.[38] Based on that research, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H_1: There will be a statistically significant decrease in foreign news content over time.

Since this research asserts that American newspapers were becoming more interested in things American, it logically follows that such concern would be reflected in the amount of news space given to American content. Accordingly, the second hypothesis states:

H_2: There will be a statistically significant increase in domestic news content over time.

If American newspapers were, in fact, becoming more interested in matters American and less interested in foreign affairs, one category that would be expected to reveal that change in attitude by showing a decrease in content would be foreign relations news. The third hypothesis states:

H_3: There will be a statistically significant decrease in foreign relations news content over time.

Toward the end of the period under study, events on the American frontier took on greater importance to the newspapers in the East. The election of the War Hawks[39] and the renewal of Indian troubles[40] provided the impetus for increased frontier news content in the newspapers under study. Preliminary research indicates that the amount of frontier news content found in eastern newspapers increased markedly toward the end of the period.[41] The fourth hypothesis states:

H_4: There will be a statistically significant increase in frontier news content over time.

Findings

In Hypothesis I it was proposed that foreign news content would decrease from 1808 to 1812. In Table 1 it can be seen that foreign news content decreased dramatically from 1809 to 1812 (1809: 33.8%; 1810: 17.7%; 1811: 12.7%; 1812: 7.5%). The percentage of foreign news increased slightly from 1808 (1808: 28.1%) to 1809. That the shift occurred before the War of 1812 is apparent from the fact that the major decrease in foreign news content came in 1810, a 48 percent reduction. Table 2 compares the means for each year with the means for all other years, utilizing the Scheffé procedure.

TABLE 1

Number and Percentage of Words and Column Inches for all Foreign Content Categories
For Years 1808-1912

Category	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	Total
Total						
words	1,211,339.0	1,455,557.0	762,714.0	547,812.0	323,477.5	4,300,893.5
%	28.1	33.8	17.7	12.7	7.5	99.8*
inches	25,649.5	30,412.5	15,859.5	12,037.0	6,827.0	90,785.5
%	28.2	33.5	17.5	13.2	7.5	99.9*

*Not equal to 100% due to rounding error.

TABLE 2

Comparison of Means for Combined Foreign News Categories, 1808-1812[1]

Year	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812
1808 ($\bar{X}$=4964)					
1809 ($\bar{X}$=5650)	*				
1810 ($\bar{X}$=2947)	*	*			
1811 ($\bar{X}$=2000)	*	*	*		
1812 ($\bar{X}$=1233)	*	*	*	*	

[1]Asterisk indicates means that are significantly different at the .05 level.

TABLE 4

Comparison of Means for Combined Domestic News Categories, 1808-1812[1]

Year	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812
1808 ($\bar{X}$=4392)					
1809 ($\bar{X}$=4405)					
1810 ($\bar{X}$=6598)	*	*			
1811 ($\bar{X}$=7405)	*	*	*		
1812 ($\bar{X}$=8638)	*	*	*	*	

[1]Asterisk indicates means that are significantly different at the .05 level.

TABLE 3

Number and Percentage of Words and Column Inches for All Domestic Content Categories For Years 1808-1812

Category	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	Total
Total						
words	1,071,709.0	1,177,350.5	1,773,340.5	2,020,809.0	2,292,615.5	8,335,824.5
%	12.8	14.1	21.3	24.2	27.5	99.9*
inches	22,383.5	24,751.5	37,250.0	44,710.0	49,811.0	178,905.5
%	12.5	13.8	20.8	24.9	27.8	99.8*

*Not equal to 100% due to rounding error.

TABLE 5

Number and Percentage of Words and Column Inches for Foreign Relations News Categories, 1808-1812

Category	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	Total
1. Foreign Relations (Domestic)						
words	60,831.0	100,311.0	272,143.0	472,259.0	352,712.5	1,258,256.5
%	5.3	7.4	29.6	50.8	55.2	25.2
inches	1,287.5	2,015.0	5,933.0	10,016.5	7,987.0	27,239.0
%	5.3	7.2	30.7	50.1	57.1	25.8
2. Foreign Relations (Foreign)						
words	1,084,062.0	1,254,858.5	648,226.5	457,335.0	285,948.0	3,730,430.0
%	94.7	92.6	70.4	49.2	44.8	74.8
inches	22,906.5	26,099.0	13,408.5	9,970.0	6,004.5	78,388.5
%	94.7	92.8	69.3	49.9	42.9	74.2
Total						
words	1,144,893.0	1,355,169.5	920,369.5	929,594.0	638,660.5	4,988,686.5
%	22.9	27.2	18.4	18.6	12.8	99.9*
inches	24,194.0	28,114.0	19,341.5	19,986.5	13,991.5	105,627.5
%	22.9	26.6	18.3	18.9	13.2	99.9*

*Not equal to 100% due to rounding error.

TABLE 6

Comparison of Means for Foreign Relations Categories, 1808-1812[1]

Year	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812
1808 ($\bar{X}$=4692)					
1809 ($\bar{X}$=5287)	*				
1810 ($\bar{X}$=3533)	*	*			
1811 ($\bar{X}$=3482)	*	*			
1812 ($\bar{X}$=2428)	*	*	*	*	

[1]Asterisk indicates means that are significantly different at the .05 level.

As can be seen from Table 2, all means show a statistically significant difference. Except for the difference between 1808 and 1809, the means decreased over time. The mean for 1809 ($\bar{X}$=5650) is significantly larger than the mean for 1808 ($\bar{X}$=4964). Comparing the means for 1808 and 1812 shows that the newspapers were printing four times as much foreign news at the beginning of the period as they were at the end. Hypothesis I is retained.

Hypothesis II stated that there would be a statistically significant increase in domestic news content over the period studied. It can be seen from Table 3 that the amount of domestic news content increased from 1808 to 1812 (1808: 12.8%; 1809: 14.1%; 1810: 21.3%; 1811: 24.2%; 1812: 27.5%). In fact, the newspapers printed more than twice as much domestic news in 1812 as they had printed in 1808. Table 4 shows that there were statistically significant differences among the means for all years from 1809 to 1812. While the means increase from 1808 to 1812, the means for 1808 ($\bar{X}$=4392) and 1809 ($\bar{X}$=4405) are not significantly different. Hypothesis II is retained.

It was expected that the key foreign news content category would be foreign relations news. Accordingly, it was proposed that there would be a statistically significant decrease in the foreign relations news category over time. As can be seen from Table 5, the percentage of foreign relations news content decreased dramatically between 1808 (22.9%) and 1812 (12.8%). However, it was not a steady decline. In fact, the highest percentage of foreign relations news was printed in 1809 (27.2%), followed by a large decrease to 18.4 percent in 1810. As can be seen from Table 6, all means are significantly different except for the means for 1810 ($\bar{X}$=3533) and 1811 ($\bar{X}$=3482), which are non-significant. The means decrease from 1809 ($\bar{X}$=5287) to 1812 ($\bar{X}$=2428). Hypothesis III is retained.

TABLE 7

Number and Percentage of Words and Column Inches for Frontier News Content Categories, 1808-1812

Category	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	Total
Frontier						
words	30,394.0	47,551.5	95,110.5	150,990.0	182,021.0	506,067.0
%	6.0	9.4	18.8	29.8	36.0	100.0
inches	653.0	1,021.0	2,073.0	3,550.0	4,121.5	11,418.5
%	5.7	8.9	18.2	31.1	36.1	100.0

TABLE 8

Comparison of Means for Frontier Content Categories, 1808-1812[1]

Year	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812
1808 ($\bar{X}$=124)					
1809 ($\bar{X}$=181)					
1810 ($\bar{X}$=358)	*	*			
1811 ($\bar{X}$=589)	*	*	*		
1812 ($\bar{X}$=674)	*	*	*		

[1]Asterisk indicates means that are significantly different at the .05 level.

Since the writer's preliminary study[42] offered evidence for a dramatic increase in frontier news content, it was proposed that the present research would show a statistically significant increase in frontier news content over the five-year period. The amount of frontier news content increased significantly from 1808 to 1812. That the increase was in large increments is apparent from Table 7, which shows the percentage of frontier news content represented by each year; it ranges from 6 percent in 1808 up to 36 percent in 1812. If advertising is excluded from total content, the percentage of news content represented by frontier news increases from 1.3 percent in 1808 to 7 percent in 1812. Table 8 shows that there was a statistically significant increase in frontier news content between 1808 and 1812. Hypothesis IV is retained.

Discussion

It seems clear from the findings that American newspapers began giving less attention to matters foreign and more attention to domestic news in the years just prior to the War of 1812. Far from occurring during the war, as has been suggested by historians, the trend appears to have begun in earnest as early as 1810. As Table 9 shows, foreign news as a percentage of total news content declined from 53.1 percent in 1808 to 12.4 percent in 1812. While increasing slightly in 1809 (55.2%), the percentage dropped dramatically in 1810 (30.1%). In the same period, domestic news as a percentage of total news content went from 46.9 percent in 1808 to 87.6 percent in 1812. It can be said that the newspapers increased domestic content while reducing foreign content virtually in a one-to-one ratio.

Clearly, it was not a case of the newspapers either deciding to, or being forced to, print less news and choosing to reduce foreign content while maintaining domestic content at the earlier level. Rather, the newspapers reduced the amount of foreign content and replaced it with more domestic content.

TABLE 9

Comparison of Number and Percentage of Words and Column Inches of Foreign and Domestic News Content for Newspapers, 1808-1812

Year	Domestic	Foreign	Total
1808			
words	1,071,709.0	1,211,339.0	2,283,048.0
%	46.9	53.1	100.0
inches	22,383.5	25,649.5	48,033.5
%	46.6	53.4	100.0
1809			
words	1,177,350.5	1,455,557.0	2,632,917.5
%	44.7	55.2	100.0
inches	24,751.5	30,412.5	55,163.5
%	44.9	55.1	100.0
1810			
words	1,773,340.5	762,714.0	2,536,054.5
%	69.9	30.1	100.0
inches	37,250.0	15,859.5	53,109.5
%	70.1	29.9	100.0
1811			
words	2,020,809.0	547,812.0	2,568,621.0
%	78.7	21.3	100.0
inches	44,710.0	12,037.0	56,747.0
%	78.8	21.2	100.0
1812			
words	2,292,615.5	323,477.5	2,616,093.0
%	87.6	12.4	100.0
inches	49,811.0	6,827.0	56,638.5
%	87.9	12.1	100.0
Total			
words	8,335,824.5	4,300,899.5	12,636,724.0
%	66.1	33.9	100.0
inches	178,906.0	90,785.5	269,691.5
%	66.3	33.7	100.0

At the root of the change there appears to have been a declining interest among American newspapers of the period in foreign relations news. Such news decreased from a high of 1,355,169 words in 1809 to a low of 638,660 words in 1812. It was foreign relations news from a foreign source that most dramatically declined. In 1808, 94.7 percent of foreign relations news came from a foreign source, but by 1812 that percentage had dropped to 44.8 percent. It was not that the newspapers were getting out of the business of printing foreign news (although the reduction does suggest declining interest); it was just that they appear to have shifted from foreign sources to an interest in getting their foreign relations news from domestic sources. This supports the argument that American newspapers were simply shifting their interests from foreign news to domestic news.

Another powerful argument that newspapers were becoming more American in outlook is demonstrated by the large increase in frontier news over the five-year period. A uniquely American news content, the increase in frontier news suggests a growing awareness of American news. When this finding is coupled with the findings for foreign relations news, a clear pattern emerges. Editors throughout the period continually had to make judgments about which was more important, an American story or a foreign event. The findings offer compelling evidence that the editors made their decision, and it was one in favor of increased American news.

Notes

[1] Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), p. 101.

[2] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962), p. 195.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[4] *Ibid.* See also Allen Nevins, *The Evening Post*, rev. ed. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), pp. 81-91; Bernard A. Weisburger, *The American Newspaperman* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 64-87; Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978). This latest of the general journalism histories says nothing about the shift.

[5] This occurred because of the English control of the seas; there was limited intercourse between America and foreign ports.

[6] Donald R. Avery, "Changing News Emphasis in the Pre-War Period of 1812: A Content Analysis" M.A. Thesis, Southern Illinois University 1981.

[7] Emery, p. 101.

[8] Avery, p. 43.

[9] *New Haven Connecticut Journal*, 4 Feb. 1808, p. 2.

[10] *Richmond Enquirer*, 12 Jan. 1808, p. 3.

[11] *New Haven Connecticut Journal*, 12 Mar. 1808, p. 3.

[12] The format of the newspapers of the period varied greatly. Most of the newspapers were four or five columns wide by nineteen to twenty-one inches deep; a few of the larger publications in the metropolitan areas were six or seven columns

wide. Headlines, if they were used at all, were typically labels rarely larger than eighteen or twenty-four-point type. There was more variety in advertising than in news columns. Advertising used many type sizes and faces, with an occasional woodcut to break up the monotony.

[13] Body type sizes and faces varied from newspaper to newspaper. Generally, type size was five or six point; some newspapers, notably the *New Haven Conecticut Journal*, used body type sizes and faces that are similar to those used today. Most did not.

[14] Mott, pp. 200-201.

[15] *The Chesapeake-Leopard* affair of 1807 began when seamen from an English squadron jumped ship near Norfolk, Virginia. The English believed that the American naval ship, *Chesapeake*, had taken on board several of the deserters before she sailed from Norfolk. The British ship, *Leopard*, was dispatched to return the English deserters. The captain of the *Leopard* ordered his vessel alongside the *Chesapeake* and demanded that the American ship give up the deserters. The American captain claimed he had no English seamen aboard. The *Leopard* gave the *Chesapeake* a broadside with her cannons, and the American ship, unaccountably unprepared, surrendered. On board the *Chesapeake*, the English found a British deserter who had joined the ship's company under an assumed name. Also on board were three American sailors who had once been impressed into the British navy. The English took the British deserter and the three Americans and went on their way. The *Chesapeake* limped into port. Jefferson, recognizing the outrage of the Americans, ordered all British ships out of American waters and sent a demand to England for reparations. The English agreed to investigate the incident but refused to abandon their policy of impressing seamen wherever they could be found. Congress was in session when the incident occurred; the Embargo Act of 1807 was passed in the heat of the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair. For several years negotiations dragged on, but the British remained adamant that they would not give up any prerogatives. A settlement had to await the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814.

[16] Weisberger, p. 69.

[17] Mott, p. 203. Newspapers of the period were expensive, with weeklies costing $1.50 to $2.50 per year, sometimes up to five dollars. Annual subscription rates for dailies usually ran from eight to ten dollars.

[18] Letters to the editor were often signed, "Hortensius," "Americanus," or "Civitus."

[19] Mott, p. 203.

[20] Emery, p. 102.

[21] Summaries in newspapers outside the capital might often be four inches or less and contain only the votes on various laws. They usually included a listing of each person present. Such coverage was not particularly helpful to the reader. However, such summaries did provide a springboard for the editor's commentary.

[22] *New Haven Connecticut Journal*, 10 Dec. 1807, p. 3.

[23] *Richmond Enquirer*, 1 Mar. 1808, p. 2.

[24] *New Haven Connecticut Journal*, 17 Mar. 1808, p. 3.

[25] *Washington* (D.C.) *National Intelligencer*, 30 Dec. 1807, p. 2.

[26] Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. 179.

[27] Mott, p. 168.

[28] Lee, pp. 711-739.

[29] The names of all newspapers in the population were entered on file cards and the cards shuffled thoroughly as with a deck of playing cards. The number four was randomly selected as the entry point and then, utilizing the sampling fraction (.10), a sample of 29 newspapers was selected by drawing every tenth newspaper from the

deck of file cards. Sampling fraction:

$$sf = \frac{\text{Sample size}}{\text{Population size}}$$

$$sf = \frac{29}{284}$$

$$sf = .10$$

All newspapers which published less than one year were deleted when encountered during the selection process and the next newspaper on the list then selected.

[30] The newspapers of the period were composites of many publications from different locations, and none was truly individual.

[31] There was no sense of time found in early newspapers. Entire editions might be given to a single subject, such as the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair (see footnote 15 above).

[32] John T. Roscoe, *Fundamental Research Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975), pp. 410-411. The number 10 was selected to enter the table. Drawing number 25 from the table would mean edition number 25 of that year would be chosen.

[33] Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952), p. 18.

[34] Naiim Badii, "A Content Analysis of Iranian Newspapers Before, During, and After the 1979 Revolution" Ph.D. Dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1980.

[35] Avery, p. 45.

[36] All assumptions of analysis of variance were satisfied. Analysis of variance was chosen over the t-test because the latter will only test differences between two means while the former will test differences among many means. However, analysis of variance will indicate that differences among means exist; it says nothing about which means differ. See Roscoe, pp. 292-301.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 313-315. The Scheffé procedure was chosen to make the multiple comparisons necessary. While not the most powerful of the multiple-comparisons procedures, the Scheffé test is suitable for use under almost any circumstances. It has the added property of being relatively insensitive to departures from normality and homogeneity of variances.

[38] Avery, p. 45.

[39] It is noteworthy that the leading War Hawk was Henry Clary, elected speaker of the House with the support of the Western faction.

[40] Emery, pp. 100-101.

[41] Avery, pp. 80-84.

[42] *Ibid.*

Alex Posey: Creek Indian Editor/Humorist/Poet

SAM G. RILEY

This history of U.S. journalism is replete with surprising, colorful, talented characters. Each of these traits was embodied in Alexander Lawrence Posey, a Creek Indian journalist and poet who lived and worked in the Oklahoma Indian Territory around the turn of this century.

Here was an Indian farm boy who had spoken little English until he was 12 but who bacame a gifted humorist and his tribe's most eloquent poet. From plain beginnings emerged a dapper, stylish young man of considerable intellect. His appearance and satiric wit might allow us to regard him as the American Indian Oscar Wilde, though his most biting satire is more reminiscent of his fiesty Texas contemporary William Cowper Brann.[1] His talents led him to serve his people in a number of official capacities and to become editor and publisher of the *Indian Journal*, which by 1903 was the oldest newspaper in the Indian territory and which, at this writing, is Oklahoma's oldest newspaper.[2]

By the turn of this century the territory was a hive of journalistic activity. In her definitive compilation of early Oklahoma newspapers, ethnologist Carolyn Foreman quoted Samuel Adams Drake from his book *The Making of the Great West*: "In settling an island, the first building erected by a Spaniard will be a church; by a Frenchman, a fort; by a Dutchman, a warehouse; and by an Englishman, an alehouse." An American, added Drake, would probably start a newspaper.[3]

Drake's comment on Americans' penchant for newspapers applied to the Indian territory as well as to the rest of the country. According to information gathered on the site by Mrs. Foreman, nearly 600 newspapers had been published prior to 1907 within the seven Indian nations that occupied the territory.[4] Most, of course, were weeklies, though at least ten attempts at daily publication were made by the territorial press before the dawn of the new century.[5] It should be noted that many of these territorial papers were owned and operated by whites.

Into this milieu came Alex Posey, who on February 7, 1902, took over as editor and publisher of the *Indian Journal*. From his first issue, Posey asserted himself as a forceful spokesman for what he considered to be his

people's best interest:

> Senator Quarles, in introducing a bill in Congress for the protection of the game instead of the people of the Indian Territory, has displayed a lamentable ignorance of the fact that the skunk has its musk, the deer its horns and hooves for protection, while the disfranchised people of the Indian Territory can neither hoof, kick nor raise a stink.[6]

At that juncture, the people of the territory lived in considerable uncertainty as to their political future. Some wanted to see two separate states created: Oklahoma for the white settlers and a separate state for the Indians. Others wanted all this land consolidated into the single new state of Oklahoma. Still others preferred the status quo, wanting only to be left alone. Posey foresaw the inevitable and sided with the one-staters:

> When the Indians become citizens of the new state, they will be as other citizens. . . . It is the Indian's interest . . . to grow up as an American citizen, just as any other race that has contributed a share toward forming the great American people. The Indian shall be an Indian no longer, but an American. . . . The old ways are gone, and they were times dear to the memory of the old people. The new order is here and the new Indian must meet the new condition not as an Indian, but as an American citizen and work out his own salvation as an individual depending on no fellow citizen, but upon himself.[7]

In matters political, Posey usually supported the Democrats, though he publicly claimed neutrality for his paper. In reply to a critical letter to the editor, he wrote: "No, 'Anxious Reader,' the *Journal* is not a political organ, but it is a free moral agent. So, if at any time it fails to support your man or men, gulp down your Adam's apple, throw a cat fit or two, and your recovery is certain."

It was this facility for colorful expression that made Posey stand out from the common herd of his competitors. Posey could lay hands on an otherwise ordinary story and turn it into a reading experience:

> Bunnie Jackson, a 13-year-old full-blood, got on the outside of a dollar's worth of bootleg whisky last Saturday and proceeded to disturb the public serenity by appropriating the whole sidewalk to himself. . . . Jackson McGilbra, a companion, wrestled and argued with him, but to no purpose. Finally an officer espied this couple and swooped down upon them with his usual alertness. . . . Sampson Harley, another young full-blood, feeling his wild oats, interfered with the officer in the discharge of his sworn duty and never knew anything more until he saw the gray dawn peering through the bars of the calaboose.

> Among the most prominent Creek evangelists is Charley Williams of near Holdenville. When he fails to stir 'em up to the shouting point, they are beyond redemption and lost world without end.[8]

> Mrs. Crabtree's smokehouse was visited one night last week by some unknown varmit which got away with about one hundred pounds of bacon. The varmit rode a mule.[9]

> As a result of the recent elections, Denison and Sherman, Tex., will be "dry towns." The prohibitionists snowed the liquor traffic under with a blizzard of notes. Watch the streets of the foregoing towns. The grass will cover up the signs of life, business and prosperity.[10]

> A Kansas woman convicted of theft stated in her own defense that her husband made her steal. A man that is too lazy to do his own stealing should not be tolerated in any community.[11]

> The President [Theodore Roosevelt] will soon end his speech-making tour and his chin will go into dry dock in Washington for needed repairs.[12]

Once Posey aimed his barbed humor at a territorial police chief by telling a story about an escaped convict whose prison picture had been taken from six different angles. The six mug shots were circulated to territorial police departments, and, according to Posey, one village police chief replied by return post, "Sir, I have just received the portraits of six miscreants whose capture is desired. I have arrested five of them, and the sixth is under observation and will be secured shortly."[13]

On occasion Posey would turn his wit inward and comment on the vagaries of editing a newspaper. He took puckish delight in the trouble a fellow territorial editor brought upon himself by misplacing a crucial comma in a sentence that read, "Two young men from Leoti went with their girls to Tribune to attend the teachers' institute and as soon as they left, the girls got drunk." "The editor," Posey wrote, "is visiting in an adjacent county and is editing his paper by mail."[14]

In a whimsical treatise on the sometimes awkward use of the "editorial we," Posey had a fictitious editor describe a fight in which the editor supposedly took part:

> We entered into conversation with Mr. C. He made mention of the difficulties between us, and we gave our version of the affair. He then called us a liar, and we struck him. He struck us back and we clinched. In the scramble which followed we got into the aisle (in a train car) and we got him down and were giving him what he deserved when the conductor and some of the passengers came up and interfered. Then we parted.[15]

The rough-and-tumble boosterism battles that frontier editors practiced upon one another often caused Posey to show his flinty side. In his second issue of the *Journal*, he challenged one Col. Kert Whitmore of the *Checotah Enquirer*, who, "in an article last week full of bad grammar and bad taste, endeavored to make Checotah's good points apparent and Eufaula's redeeming features grow pale. This young editor has much to learn, beginning with elementary grammar and ranging all the way to political economy."[16]

In a later *Journal* issue, Posey poked not-so-gentle fun at the same rival paper's flag, which read "*Checotah Enquirer (limited).*" "It is not clear," Posey commented, "whether the 'limited' refers to the mental capacity of its editor or the capital stock of the company, but we are persuaded that it will apply in either case, as well as to Whitmore's regard for the truth."[17]

Posey was at the top of his vitriolic form when he described the editor of Checotah's other paper, the *Times*, as "so narrow and constricted that a fly can stand on the bridge of his nose, paw in one eye and kick in the other."[18] At the same time, he could be absolutely shameless in boosting his own community ("An earthquake couldn't shake the confidence Eufaula has in its future.")[19]

And this was the once shy, retiring farmboy, born on August 3, 1873, in what is now McIntosh County, Oklahoma. His father was Lewis H. Posey, himself born in the Indian territory and registered as one-sixteenth Creek, but of Scotch-Irish descent. Alex Posey's mother was Nancy Harjo (Her anglicized name was Phillips), a full-blood Creek and member of the Wind Clan, largest of the Creek clans. Though Posey grew up understanding some English, Creek was spoken in his home. When Posey was 12, his father hired a tutor to teach Alex English. Years later, Posey entered in his journal: "My first teacher was a dried-up, hard-up weazen-faced, irritable little fellow, with an appetite that caused the better dishes on my father's table to disappear rapidly.... From him I learned the alphabet and to read in short sentences, but I never spoke any English until I was compelled to speak it by my father."[20]

In 1890 Posey entered Bacone College, a Baptist school in the territory devoted to the education of Indians. He studied there for five years and there discovered his talent for writing. After school hours he set type for the faculty's in-house newspaper, *The Instructor*, in which his own first efforts appeared. Some of these contributions were in verse, usually describing Creek legends: "The Comet's Tale," about the coming of the white man; "Fixico Yahola's Revenge," a Creek man-animal legend; and several others. Posey's prose contributions to *The Instructor* included "The Indian, What of Him?" in which he wrote optimistically about the Indian's march toward parity with whites, and "The Origin of Music According to the Creek Medicine-Men."[21]

After being graduated from Bacone in 1895, Posey spent a summer working in Sasakwa, I.T., for Gov. John F. Brown of the Seminoles. That fall he was elected to the House of Warriors, one branch of the Creeks' bicameral legislature. Concurrently, he began operating a school at Bald Hill, I.T., where one of his students was a six-year-old Creek named Thomas Gilcrease, who later made a fortune in oil and endowed the Gilcrease Institute of History and Art in Tulsa, which today houses the Posey archives.

In November 1895 the up-and-coming Posey was appointed superintendent of the Creek National Orphanage at Okmulgee, and in 1896 he married one of the orphanage's teachers, Minnie Harris, whose Creek name was Lowena. An unpublished journal he kept during this period of his life reveals that some of his work has been lost, such as a series of boyhood recollections entitled "Tom and Abe and I."[22]

In October 1897 he resigned this position and shortly thereafter was made Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Creek Nation. Some months later he retired to his farm near the territorial town of Stidham in order to devote full time to his writing, much of which consisted of nature poetry. A collection of his poetic works may be found in a volume originally

published by his widow in 1910 and republished in slightly revised form in 1969.[23]

Many of his poems had also appeared in territorial newspapers and in the Indian magazine *Twin Territories*. It is beyond the scope of this study to dwell on Posey's abilities as a poet, though it seems surprising that a young Indian who had spoken and written virtually no English until his early teens could produce the kind of sensitive work required of a nature poet. Usually Posey signed his poems with the pen name "Chinnubbie Harjo." To the Creeks, the legendary character Chinnubbie Harjo has the same significance that Hiawatha has for the Iroquois or Manabozho for the Algonquins. Essentially, each of these figures was a man endowed with great gifts but burdened by all the foibles of mankind.

Not always did Posey the poet deal with the beauty of nature. "On the Capture and Imprisonment of Crazy Snake" dealt with Posey's disagreement with, but admiration for, a militant Creek whose Indian name was Chitto Harjo and who vehemently opposed the changes in tribal rights being proposed by the U.S. government. An undated clipping from the *Checotah Enquirer* found in the Gilcrease collection shows the poet's political awareness and satiric skill in needling the "instant experts" of the Dawes Commission, the body appointed by the U.S. Congress to settle the "Indian Question":

O, Oblivion, how thou'rt robbed and cheated
Congress never meets but there is seated
From thy dark abode some politician
With a bill anent the demolition
Of our Indian government, and gets in
Print, like Curtis and the well-named Dennis Flynn,
And that there man from Colorado—Teller,
I believe he's called—that wondrous feller
Who thundered by us once aboard a car,
And new just what was needed here, by gar!
But Dawes will make thee restitution,
Though he violates the Constitution!

Posey's idyllic poet's life was interrupted in December 1899 when he was appointed to yet another trouble-shooting superintendency, this time over the Eufaula Boarding School. In the following year he was asked to lend his talents as an academic organizer to the Wetumka Boarding School, another institution for the training of young Creeks.

Alex Posey's experience as a freelance writer led him in February 1902 to become a full-time journalist, when he bought and began editing the *Indian Journal* at Eufaula. Later, in his October 3, 1902 issue, Posey introduced his readers to a new feature: Fus Fixico's Letters, written by himself. "Fixico" was introduced to his paper's readers, however, as "one of the *Journal*'s recent literary discoveries." Thereafter, the Fixico letters, 65 in all, appeared on an irregular basis and soon cemented Posey's reputation as not only a poet-editor but also an able writer of satire.

A number of clippings, most of them undated, found in the Gilcrease collection show both *Editor & Publisher* and the *Kansas City Journal* calling Posey "the only Indian humorist"[25] and the *Kansas City Times* styling him "the Dooley of Indian Territory politics."[26] Closer to home, the *Muskogee Phoenix* said of him that he had "demonstrated the right to the

title of the country's most brilliant literary Indian genius." In one of two unpublished mini-biographies of Posey, also contained in the Gilcrease archives, Ora Eddleman Reed called him "the greatest poet the Indian race has produced."[27] In the other, Orlando Swain, who knew Posey personally, call him "the greatest of all the Indian poets."[28]

In 1903 the Indians of the Five Nations—the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles—were poised on the brink of radical change. The Dawes Commission, which had been created by Congress in 1893, was compiling a census of each nation. At the end of this process, the lands held in fee simple by each tribe, or nation, were to be allotted severally to these tribes' individual citizens, and the Indian nations dissolved. The less educated Indians were being bilked by unscrupulous white land-grabbers, and it was this situation that the versatile Posey satirized in his Fixico letters.

These were written in a mistake-laden English-Creek dialect, a sort of pidgin English, essentially the same technique applied to Irish Americans by Finley Peter Dunne (Mr. Dooley).[29] Each letter contained dialogue purporting to be conversations between full-blood Creeks with names like Wolf Warrior, Hotgun, Kono Harjo, and Tookpafka Micco—names that apparently held significance for Posey's Creek readers. His character Hotgun was a self-appointed expert in all things—medicine-man, blacksmith, fiddler, orator; Tookpafka Micco was the quiet-spoken "noble red man" type. Each could be played nicely off the other in commenting on the Creeks' concerns.

White politicians and government figures whose decisions governed the fate of the Five Tribes were given nicknames that suggested they were profiting from the situation. Secretary of the Interior E. A. Hitchcock became "Secretary It's Cocked"; Pliny Soper, prosecuting attorney for the northern district of the Territory, was called "Plenty So Far"; Tams Bixby, chairman of the Dawes Commission, was "Dam Big Pie"; etc.

When the Creeks' principal chief, Pleasant Porter, led a delegation to Washington, D.C., to plead the Indians' cause before President Theodore Roosevelt, Posey wrote:

> Well, so Chife Porter and Johnny Goat was go see President Rooster Feather in the White House same as Booker T. Washingtub and talk about Royal Creek claim and statehood and things like that. . . . They was stay in Washington about a month, maybe, but they ain't do no good, look like, but have a good time.[30]

And in another issue:

> Well, reckon so them Injin delegates was in Washington lookin' at lot a things to talk 'bout and was drink lots good whiskey. . . . One Snake Injin . . . he say Washington was like Saturday in Eufaula all time. . . . He was see nobody but big mens that was not wear overalls and buy things with due bills. He says them big white mens was ride in wagons that didn't had no horses hitched to it neither and run like down hill all times.[31]

Chief Porter of the Creeks was for a time one of Posey's favorite targets. In a Fixico letter concerning an upcoming tribal election, he wrote: "Porter was not say nothing yet, but I think he was had his eye on it like buzzard on

dead cow in winter time. But I was druther had somebody else for chief."[32]

After the creation of the state of Oklahoma, Posey's character Hotgun paraphrased a Biblical passage:

> Well, so statehood was a sad thing for the Injin. But I didn't had no tears to shed over lost tribal rule, like Crazy Snake, for the new state politician was my shepherd and I got all I want. He was pulled me off to side an' had business with me for my local influence. He was cultivated my acquaintance for his party's sake. He was prepared the table before me in the presence of the bartender and hol' up two fingers and call for a couple o' small ones. He was tell me, "Eat, drink and be game, for maybe so, tomorrow I want you to vote for me."[33]

Often Posey's characters were pictured squatting around an open fire, smoking their pipes and reminiscing about "the ol' days when Checota was chief an' Injin Territory was a huntin' groun' for the Five Tribes 'stead of a paradise for Illinois politicians."

In his 65th and final Fixico letter, Posey did a deft job of expressing his people's feeling of helplessness in the face of westward expansionism when he had his character Yadeka say:

> Long time ago He That Looks Over Us give the Injins more lan' than any other people. He put a big ocean on the east side of it an' a big ocean on the west side of it. Then He put summer on the South side and Winter on the North side. He put gold an' silver in the hills an' fishes in the streams an' game in the woods an' on the prairies. He give Injin the bow an' arrow an' tol' 'im to be happy.[34]

In another Fixico letter, Posey had Hotgun deliver a discourse on the hard lot of the small-town newspaper editor:

> "Well, so," Hotgun he say, "If I was had the nerve and the old hand press and no family to support, maybe so, I like to be a country editor, with five thousand readers in some town that was had a good future and put' near two hundred souls in it. The country editor was a big man in the community and was received a lots a compliments. The prominent farmer was lugged big pumpkins into his sanctum for remembrance, and the women a the ladies' aid society was left fresh bouquets on his desk for advertising the ice cream festible, and the candidate for office dropped in and paid up his back subscription for his support, and the businessmen was cut down they space in his weekly so he could had more room to boost the town and blow they horn."[35]

In the foregoing passage Posey was poking fun at himself. On July 4, 1902, he had run a house ad claiming his *Indian Journal* reached 5,000 readers—a neat trick in a town of 1,500 persons. Later, in his April 24, 1903 number, Posey claimed 1,000 subscribers, which at least was closer to whatever the actual figure might have been.

When a name was being sought for the new state, the outspoken Hotgun said, "Well, so some say call it Terra-india, the land a the Red Man, but maybe so they better name it Ta-ra-boom-de-ay, the land a the boomer."[36]

While the "two-staters" were still active, "Jefferson" was being bandied about as a possible name for the new Indian state, to which Posey responded:

> There are enough hooks in Jefferson to equip a trout line and we object to it. . . . Applied to the man or to the principles for which he stood, the name is to be revered; applied to a great and beautiful country—a land of romance, tradition and poetry, inseparately associated with the pathetic story of the Indian—the name is meaningless.[37]

Instead, Posey suggested, "Tahlequah" might be a more appropriate name. A week later he changed his mind and lobbied for "Tulledega," a Creek name for a range of hills west of Posey's farm.

According to numerous clippings found in the Gilcrease collection, Posey's Fixico letters and his other comments on the politics of the day were widely reprinted in the territorial press and beyond. At the April 23 and 24, 1903, meeting of the Indian Territory Press Association, Posey was named the association's official poet, an office not unusual in an era when many newspapers had a "poet's corner."[38] Surprisingly, though, Posey never ran his own nature poetry in the *Journal*.

In the first years of his editorship, Posey bought out a rival paper, the *Eufaula Gazette*, and consolidated it into the *Journal*.[39] At this time he promised his readers an all home-print paper but was unable to keep his promise, soon resorting to the use of boilerplate, as did most small Western newspapers of that era. Because of a major gap in available microfilm, the writer was unable to determine the exact date when Posey sold the *Journal*, but at some point between Oct.1, 1903 and Sept. 9, 1904, he sold out to George A. Raker and moved to the larger town of Muskogee, the Creek capital, where he became local editor of the *Muskogee Times*.

Soon, however, he left that paper and joined the Dawes Commission's effort to enroll, or register, every Indian in the territory so that when allotment finally took place, each would receive his fair share of land. Traveling with a notary public and stenographer, Posey, as Clerk in Charge and Creek Interpreter of the Creek Enrollment Field Party, travelled the Creek Nation attempting to register all Creek babies; to locate "lost Creeks," those who had married into other tribes or had moved into the more remote parts of the territory; and to convince the dissident Snake faction that its members should register for their allotments.

Sensing some chance of success in forming a separate Indian state, Posey acted as a delegate to a constitutional convention held at Muskogee in August 1905 and was named this convention's secretary. His was the principal influence in drafting a proposed constitution, and this time he argued that "Sequoyah" should be the new state's name. His final argument in behalf of the "State of Sequoyah" came in 1906 when he appeared in Tulsa and addressed a subcommittee of the Committee of Indian Affairs of the U.S. Congress. These efforts came to naught, and in 1907 the single state of Oklahoma became part of the Union.

With the Dawes Commission's work complete, Posey again returned to Eufaula (March 1908) and assumed the editorship of the *Indian Journal*. His intent also was to pursue business interests in the development of timber, oil, gas, and coal. His plans were cut short, however, and his life tragically snuffed out on May 27, 1908. He and a lawyer friend were returning

from Checotah to Eufaula when their wagon was halted by a bridge washout on the swollen North Canadian River, which the Creeks called the Oktahutchee. The two hired a man to row them across, but the boat capsized in the white-water. Posey was swept downstream to his death, an awful irony in that in his poetry he had so often expressed his awe of rivers, as in the line, "I dread thee, Mighty River, there's a flush of anger on thy face,"[40] or his poem "My Fancy":

Why do trees along the river
Lean so far out o'er the tide?
Very wise men tell me why, but
I am never satisfied;
And so I keep my fancy still,
That trees lean out to save
The drowning from the clutches of
The cold, remorseless wave.[41]

Notes

* The writer wishes to thank the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City for allowing access to its microfilm collection of the *Indian Journal*'s early years, and the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art in Tulsa for making available its extensive Posey collection.

[1] See William Rivers, "William Cowper Brann and His Iconoclast," *Journalism Quarterly*, 35 (fall 1958), 433-438.

[2] The *Journal* began publishing in 1876. A number of Indian Territory papers predated the *Journal*, but all ceased publication by 1903. These were the *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, 1844), the *Choctaw Telegraph* (Doaksville, 1849), the *Choctaw Intelligencer* (Doaksville, 1850), *The Chickasaw and Choctaw Herald* (Tishomingo City, 1858), *The Halaquah Times* (Lost Creek, 1871), *The Vindicator* (New Boggy, 1872), *The Oklahoma Star* (Caddo, 1874), the *Indian Herald* (Osage Agency, 1875), and the *Indian Progress* (Muskogee, 1875).

[3] Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprinte, 1835-1907: A History of Printing in Oklahoma Before Statehood* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. xviii.

[4] Chickasaw Nation: 164; Choctaw Nation: 149; Cherokee; 123; Creek: 122; Osage: 11; Seminole: 7; and Peoria: 7.

[5] Cherokee Nation: the *Capital City News* (Tahlequah, 891), *The Capital* (Tahlequah, 1896), *Vinita Star* (Vinita, 1897), *Daily Indian Chieftan* (Vinita, 1899); Chickasaw Nation: *Ardmore Chronicle* (Ardmore, 1897), *The Chickasha Express* (Chickasha, 1899); Creek Nation: *Daily Indian Journal* (Eufaula, 1876). Daily for one week only, but began another daily edition on June 12, 1903.), *Muskogee Times* (Muskogee, 1896).

[6] *Indian Journal*, 7 February 1902.

[7] *Indian Journal*, 3 October 1902.

[8] *Indian Journal*, 13 March 1903.

[9] Collection of undated clippings in the collection of the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa.

[10] *Indian Journal*, 13 March 1903.
[11] *Indian Journal*, 1 May 1903.
[12] *Indian Journal*, 8 May 1903.
[13] *Indian Journal*, 3 October, 1902.
[14] *Indian Journal*, 8 May 1903.
[15] *Indian Journal*, 26 September 1902.
[16] *Indian Journal*, 14 February 1902.
[17] *Indian Journal*, 20 June 1902.
[18] *Indian Journal*, 11 September 1903.
[19] *Indian Journal*, 7 February 1902.
[20] From a portion of Posey's unpublished journal found in the Gilcrease archives.
[21] In the Gilcrease collection.
[22] In the Gilcrease collection.
[23] *Poems of Alexander Lawrence Posey, Creek Indian Bard* (Topeka: Crane & Co., 1910). Republished in revised from by the Okmulgee Cultural Foundation, Inc. and the Five Civilized Tribes Heritage Foundation, Inc. (Muskogee, Ok.: Hoffman Printing Company, 1969). The original volume was compiled and edited by William E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society and an adopted member of the Wyandott tribe.
[24] In the Gilcrease collection.
[25] Undated Clippings in the Gilcrease collection.
[26] *Kansas City Times*, 26 June 1903.
[27] Page 1 of typed manuscript in the Gilcrease collection.
[28] Foreword to a typed manuscript in the Gilcrease collection.
[29] See John M. Harrison, "Finley Peter Dunne and the Progressive Movement," *Journalsim Quarterly*, 44 (autumn 1967), 475-481.
[30] *Indian Journal*, 20 March 1903.
[31] *Indian Journal*, 19 December 1902.
[32] *Indian Journal*, 20 February 1902.
[33] In the Gilcrease collection, letters, p. 63.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[37] *Indian Journal*, 11 April 1902.
[38] John Windsor Sharp, compiler, *History of the Oklahoma Press and Oklahoma Press Association* (Woodward, Ok., 1930).
[39] *Indian Journal*, 27 June 1902.
[40] From "The Arkansas River," *Poems of Alexander Lawrence Posey, Creek Indian Bard*, 1969 edition, p. 206.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Research in Broadcasting: An Overview of Major Resource Centers

MICHAEL MURRAY

The student of broadcast history is faced with a number of obstacles in gaining access to primary source material. This problem is related principally to the ephemeral nature of the broadcast medium, the selectivity of what the networks make available, the diversity of program sources, and copyright restrictions.[1] Attempts to provide detailed information on the availability of non-print materials for research and for use in teaching the history of broadcasting have, for the most part, been sporadic and highly specialized.[2] A brief overview of major broadcast holdings is presented here.

The Television News Archive at Vanderbilt University is the most widely known and used source for scholarship related to broadcast news programming. The joint Vanderbilt, Peabody College, and Scarritt College Libraries (Nashville, Tennessee 37203) maintain a videotape collection of network evening newscasts aired since 1968. This archive consists of several thousand hours with seven and a half hours added each week. The collection also includes selected political speeches, conventions, special hearings, and presidential press conferences.

Television News Archive tapes are available at the archive or through loan. The entire collection is indexed with abstracts published in printed form since 1972. Users are asked to describe the way the tapes are to be used and Vanderbilt reserves the right to make judgments and to have representatives present at public showings. This is done at the expense of the user, to assure accuracy of statements regarding the archive. The archive does not make written transcriptions of broadcasts. The Television News Study Center (George Washington University, 2130 H Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20052) assists in finding aids to resources available elsewhere and provides playback facilities for the Vanderbilt Television News Archive.[3]

The National Archives in Washington, D.C. contain copies of daily network newscasts, selected documentaries, and feature material dating from

the mid-1970s. The archives also offer special programs to acquaint users with case files and services. The Woodrow Wilson International Center also sponsors a publication for scholars in this area.[4] The American Film Institute (A.F.I.), which has major collections and offices in Washington and Los Angeles, is probably the most widely recognized source of information on the history of motion pictures but also has script holdings in the broadcast area with *Factfiles* in many major subject areas of interest to broadcast scholars.

The Summer Program Series of the A.F.I. also conducts a documentation workshop on its West Coast campus. The workshop provides broadcasting and film scholars, as well as librarians and archivists, with a comprehensive examination of historical resources in the Los Angeles area.

Some network programming from television is available directly from the originator in 16mm for nontheatrical distribution. Some CBS programs, for example, are distributed from CBS News Archive in New York City (525 W. 5th Street, New York, New York 10019). Many other CBS documentaries are distributed on both film and videotape by Carousel Films (1501 Broadway, New York, New York 10036) and by a number of educational institutions. Indiana University and the University of Michigan, for example, loan copies of some of the most prominent CBS documentaries, including "Harvest of Shame" and "The Selling of the Pentagon."

A limited number of NBC documentaries are available from Films, Inc. (733 Green Bay Road, Wilmette, Illinois 60091), and the ABC Network distributes a limited number of its documentaries through ABC Media Concepts (1330 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10019). ABC will also provide a list of distributors of its broadcasts on request. Some Public Broadcasting Service material and selected documentaries from the BBC are available from Time-Life (100 Eisenhower Drive, P.O. Box 644, Paramus, New Jersey 07652). PBS material is also available on videotape from the Public Broadcast Service (475 L'Enfant Plaza S.W., Washington, D.C. 20024), and the Museum of Broadcasting has also acquired programs from the BBC, Thames Television of London, and Granada.

The Museum of Broadcasting (1 E. 53rd Street, New York, New York 10022), founded by William S. Paley and oriented to preserving the "best of broadcasting" as opposed to maintaining materials for scholarship, includes more than a thousand books and periodicals on broadcasting. The collection includes speeches by each president since Warren Harding, propaganda radio broadcasts from World War II and Korea, many programs from the first five years of large-scale television (1948-1953), including the Kefauver Hearings, and coverage of several full broadcast days. The three major commercial networks each furnish 300 hours of programming a year to the museum.

The Museum of Broadcasting also includes a number of major events and television "firsts," such as the first transcontinental broadcasts, the Kennedy-Nixon debates, and the Moon Landing. The museum reference library contains 2,400 rare production scripts and the NBC Radio Archives from 1927-69.[5] Priority use of facilities is limited to members who pay an annual fee. Nonmembers, admitted on a first-come, first-served basis, are requested to make a contribution. The Museum of Broadcasting can also be reserved for classes during morning hours.

The Television Information Office, or T.I.O. (745 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10022), publishes a wide variety of material on television

and distributes tapes, thus serving as a clearinghouse for local television stations and affiliates. The T.I.O. offers associate membership to educational institutions, with local broadcast stations frequently providing membership support for reproduction or purchase of tapes for educational use.

The Broadcast Pioneers Library (1771 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036) contains kinescopes and film materials, oral histories, and special collections. Pioneers' Educational Fund, Incorporated, publishes an occasional newsletter with details of acquisitions. Another important newsletter is edited by Professor Donald Zimmerman, curator of the DuMont kinescope collection. It was started after a Library of Congress meeting of institutions with television archives. The *C.O.T.A. Newsletter* is published by the Consortium of Television Archivists (P.O. Box 2306 C, Pullman, Washington 99163).

Major holdings of academic institutions include those housed at U.C.L.A., Wisconsin, and the University of Georgia Peabody Collection. The U.C.L.A. Film, Television, and Radio Archives (1438 Melnitz Hall, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90024) is devoted to commercial programming with film, tape, and kinescopes of local and regional broadcasts, including some documentaries. The Wisconsin Center (Vilas Communication Hall, 821 University Ave., Madison, Wisconsin 53706) has a performing arts orientation with tapes and disc recordings available in the film archive. Screening and listening rooms are available at no cost to the user.

The School of Journalism at the University of Georgia maintains a collection of radio and television programs submitted for consideration for the annual George Foster Peabody Awards Competition. Access is somewhat limited. (Write: Peabody Collection, School of Journalism, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30602.) A number of other academic institutions and archives have special collections of broadcast material, but these constitute the bulk of major holdings.

Notes

[1] See Anne Rawley Saldich, "Access to Television's Past," *Columbia Journalism Review*, 15 (November/December, 1976), p. 48.

[2] See for example, Michael D. Murray and Jack Colldeweigh, "More Help for the Harried Professor: A Selected Program of Tapes in Print and Broadcast Journalism," report presented at the Association for Education in Journalism, Annual Conference, College Park, Maryland, 1976. This report contained over one hundred entries under such headings as Broadcast Journalism, History, News and Documentary, and International. It centers on specific program holdings rather than archives, special collections, or commercial distributing companies with a specialized orientation. The report was updated in 1978. Another exception is: Donald Zimmerman, "Archiving Television: The State of the Art," paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism, Annual Conference, Seattle, Washington, 1978.

[3] For a detailed survey of the collections of the Vanderbilt News Archive, as well as the National Archives and Record Service, the CBS News Archives, and a review

of the services of the Television News Study Center, see Fay C. Schreibman, "Television News Archives: A Guide to Major Collection," pp. 89-100, in William C. Adams and Fay C. Schreibman, eds., *Television Network News: Issues in Content Research* (Washington, D.C.: Television and Politics Study Program, School of Public and International Affairs, George Washington University, 1978).

[4] Bonnie Rowan, *Scholar's Guide to Washington, D.C. Film and Video Collections* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1979).

[5] John Carden, "A Remembrance of Things Past in Radio and Television," *Television Quarterly*, XIX (No. 3, 1982), pp. 11-17.

BOOK REVIEWS

Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism. *By James E. and Sharon M. Murphy.* Norman, Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981. 233 pp. Cloth, $16.95.

The men and women who devoted their time and energy to publishing dissident journals were people convinced of both the righteousness of their cause and the power of the press. They were malcontents who wanted change and idealists who believed change was possible. Many were simultaneously leaders and chroniclers of their cause.

Members of virtually every racial, ethnic, and political group represented in America, they came from both urban centers and rural outposts in every state of the union. Some were native born; others were immigrants. Some were wealthy—like Gaylord Wilshire, the "millionaire socialist" who backed a 300,000 circulation magazine with a considerable fortune; others were poor—like the great black editor Frederick Douglass, who had to borrow money to buy his freedom. Demographically, they were as varied a group as one could imagine; yet they had in common their devotion to a cause.

For the majority, journalism was not a separate calling or a profession for its own sake. It was the means to reach people with ideas, a way to organize and propagandize for what they believed. Although many felt that starting their own news channels was the only way to achieve these goals, most would have preferred using the mainstream media of their day. The established, accepted news channels reached the vast audiences the dissidents wanted to communicate with and reached them efficiently and cheaply. Founding and maintaining alternative channels cost dissident groups both time and money; once established, these alternative channels usually reached only small audiences of like-minded dissidents.

But the dissenters had little choice. The conventional press was, and for the most part still is, closed to dissident ideas. "Freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one," A. J. Leibling once quipped. For those without power, for those who, in Dwight Macdonald's words, went "against the American grain," the conventional press was not a free and open forum.

Throughout American history, powerless groups who stood outside mainstream political, social, or cultural norms have struggled to create channels for their ideas. The history of American journalism is rich with the efforts of blacks, Hispanics, native Americans, immigrants, women, anarchists, populists, socialists, communists, right-wingers, and a wide range of religious dissidents. Unfortunately, the literature of journalism history is not.

James E. and Sharon M. Murphy's *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism* is one of a handful of recent attempts to expand journalism history to include important, but largely ignored, alternative voices. A descriptive history of 150 years of native American journalism, the book is a welcome addition. But, unfortunately, the Murphys do not take the extra step of placing native American journalism within the context of dissident journalism.

Like Hispanics of the southwest and like European and Asian immigrants, American Indians founded their own journals both to preserve their heritage and to fight for their rights within mainstream society. Like blacks, they were a powerless, oppressed group whose existence—not to mention goals and ideas—was either ignored or ridiculed by the conventional press. Like political dissidents of all stripes, American Indians used their alternative media to foster internal communication, self-education, and a sense of unity.

The alternative news channels created by native Americans were, like the dissident media in general, unstable, shoestring operations that could not support themselves through advertising. A poor and powerless audience is not a prime target for those wishing to sell goods and services. Neither could they sustain themselves through subscriptions. The people they wanted to reach were precisely those who could ill afford the expense of a newspaper or magazine. The Murphys note that many native American journalistic efforts were, and are, supported by tribal organizations or other funded groups. This follows the tradition of much of dissident journalism in general, from dissenting political groups whose newspapers and pamphlets were funded by the parent group to some black publications that were supported by church or self-help organizations.

In *Let My people Know*, the Murphys offer a self-contained study of one richly divergent yet singularly identifiable group. By detailing the variety of native American journalism—the different political and cultural aims not just of each tribe but of sub-groups within a tribe—the book effectively dispels the myth that dissidents speak with one voice. This is an important point, for when dissident journalists are mentioned at all in our massive journalism histories, they are oversimplified to the point of stereotype.

Black journalists, at various times, called for reconciliation with white society, purposeful self-ostracism from white society, and militant action. To say there was one black journalistic voice throughout history—or one woman's voice or one socialist voice—is to deny that members of these groups were serious, independent thinkers. *Let My People Know* chronicles a variety of American Indian voices, from those concerned with preserving cultural heritage to those aimed at militant action.

Like Isaiah Thomas' *The History of Printing in America*, the Murphy's book puts names, dates, and people on the record. More a chronicle than an investigation, it is the necessary first step toward an understanding of the journalistic efforts of one dissident group. But it is only a first step. The challenge to press historians interested in those who went "against the American grain" is to use basic studies like this one to explore larger issues. As our colleagues the social historians reconstruct the lives of "ordinary people," so should we reconstruct their journalistic efforts, attempting to understand the importance of mass communication to those fighting for political or social change.

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Joe McCarthy and the Press. *By Edwin R. Bayley.* Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1981. 270 pp. Cloth, $16.50.

British scholar-diplomat E. H. Carr once cautioned, "Before you study history, first study the historian." In this regard, it is important to note that Edwin R. Bayley, author of *Joe McCarthy and the Press*, had a ringside seat in Senator McCarthy's home state of Wisconsin from 1946 to 1959, covering politics for the *Milwaukee Journal*. In fact, he was once introduced by McCarthy as a reporter from the "Milwaukee Daily Worker," concluding with a request to "Stand up, Ed, and let the people see what a communist looks like." Bayley, now dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of California, Berkeley, provides an insider's view and one he is uniquely qualified to convey.

Many have chosen to write about the wrongs of McCarthy. But of the nearly ten books currently available on McCarthy and McCarthyism, including recent scholarly biographies by Thomas Reeves and David Oshinsky, plus earlier efforts by journalists such as Jack Anderson and Richard Rovere, *Joe McCarthy and the Press* is undoubtedly the most analytical when it comes to press coverage. Beginning with his examination of McCarthy's infamous Wheeling, West Virginia speech in Chapter One, Bayley's description of McCarthy's background and initial excesses is skillfully written, thoughtful, and thorough. He read everything on McCarthy from 129 daily newspapers, representing a cross-section of the country. He also interviewed more than 40 reporters and inspected the personal papers of important journalists of the period.

In Chapter Two, Bayley explores coverage of McCarthy in the nation's capital and establishes initial press reaction to his accusations. Chapters Three and Four analyze wire service treatment of McCarthy and the role newspapers played in his 1952 senatorial election in Wisconsin. Chapter Five, titled "The 'Camp-Following, Mocking Bird, Bleeding Heart, Left Wing' Press," provides a very detailed look at those elements of the press most critical of the junior senator, along with his staunchest ally, *The Chicago Tribune*. The author's extensive use of interviews and personal papers is evident here, as is his utilization of Library of Congress materials such as memoranda from the late Joseph Pulitzer II to his staff. Bayley points out, for example, that Irving Dilliard, the editor of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* editorial page, and his colleagues were under constant pressure from Pulitizer to exercise caution in dealing with McCarthy even though the *Post Dispatch* is frequently credited for its strong stand against McCarthy. At one point Pulitzer admonished Dilliard: "Please, please, please lay off the McCarthy hearings. To me—and I believe to the great majority—they are the most terrific bore. Offhand, I would say that one editorial, one letter, and one cartoon a week would be about right" (p. 141).

In Chapter Six, the author chronicles McCarthy's early manipulation of television and then examines four televised events from the last three years of McCarthy's career which contributed to his decline and loss of support. These include his attack on Adlai Stevenson, a response to Harry Truman's condemnation of McCarthyism, *See It Now*'s report on the senator, and the Army-McCarthy Hearings. Personal interviews with Jack Gould and Martin Agronsky highlight this chapter, presenting both newspaper reaction to televised events and an excellent case study of McCarthy's effect on sponsorship of programs critical of him.

As might be expected, the final chapter indicts the press for coverage of

McCarthy. Surprisingly, the indictment reflects not only a dissatisfaction with the amount of coverage McCarthy received but lack of attention by some key papers in the early going. Bayley then evaluates McCarthy's effect on the press and sets forth in detail accommodations that were made between elements of the press and McCarthy. For this reason alone, the book is worth reading and owning—for what it reveals about the editorial decisions regarding coverage of a very complex story.

The concluding chapter also contains an interesting anecdote from the author's past. It seems that when McCarthy went into eclipse in 1955, the senator ironically attempted to get press coverage by advocating libertarian principles—a story Bayley wrote for the *Milwaukee Journal* that was subsequently ignored by his editor.

Joe McCarthy and the Press entertains while it educates. It is a well-documented, cogently reasoned analysis and presents the most comprehensive and balanced account to date of how and why McCarthy was able to create a state of political chaos through manipulation of the press. It is required reading for the press historian and for the thoughtful journalist as a source of valuable lessons.

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Philosophy and Journalism. *By John C. Merrill and S. Jack Odell.* New York: Longman, 1983. 256 pp. Cloth, $19.95; paper, $11.95.

By work habits, milieu, even temperament, the workaday journalist would seem as unlikely to be reflective as a typical philosopher would be inclined to cover a police raid. This state of affairs has held true in spite of the fact that philosophers and journalists analyze facts, pursue truth, ask whether objectivity is possible, and, in some cases, become passionately involved in political and ethical issues. But philosophers and journalists continue to look at each other askance.

It is to the credit of the authors of *Philosophy and Journalism* that they do not try to gloss over this basic uneasiness. They apparently were bothered at first that the two parts of their book reflect "differences in basic mannerisms with language and thought between philosophers and journalists." But after "considerable deliberation" they concluded that the unevenness "was a natural result of our interests and backgrounds and does not harm the book." Nevertheless, they go to great pains in the preface to make clear who is responsible for which part (Odell, a philosophy professor, provides a discussion of logic, semantics, epistemology, and ethics in Chapters 1-4; Merrill, a journalism professor, offers a more personal philosophy of journalism in Chapters 5-8). An occasional footnote along the way reminds the reader that the coauthors continue to have differences of opinion on specific issues. But it is the more fundamental difference between the philosophic orientation of Part I and the journalistic approach in Part II that provides an insight into the two disciplines and their differences.

If there is a single, overriding point of departure between Odell and Merrill—between philosopher and journalist—it lies in Merrill's claim that the desire to persuade readers, listeners, and viewers "is a legitimate objective in journalism." Odell, reflecting current styles of philosophical interest, is concerned with methods of understanding rather than methods

of persuasion. Where Odell makes distinctions and defines terms, Merrill works at convincing the reader that a particular viewpoint (his own) is logical and correct. Often, this means the use of arguments for which the reader is asked to accept the premises as true without supporting evidence.

It is no coincidence that a good part of contemporary philosophy, especially that of Britain and America, has turned its back on such persuasive aims, preferring instead to pursue specialized problems of meaning and methodology. It seems that journalism, with its interest in persuasion, has inherited a function that many recent movements in philosophy have tended to reject.

A comparison of mutual topics in the two parts reveals the extent of the differences between philosophical and journalistic exposition. For example, the Janet Cooke episode at the *Washington Post* comes up in both Part I and Part II. Odell uses the episode as an exercise in the application of various ethical theories to journalism; the reader is told how the supernaturalist, the Kantian, the utilitarian, the emotivist, the situationist, and the objectivist would respond to the fabricating of facts. We are then told to review the criticism advanced against the various ethical theories, and to "attempt to resolve the issue for yourself. If you have mastered the subject matter . . . you should at least appreciate the difficulty involved in justifying what most of us believe, namely, that the reporter who wrote the 'Jimmy Story' acted unethically."

Merrill, in contrast, feels less inclination to provide equal time to various philosophical positions. He is blunt: the fictionalizing or fabricating of stories is one of a number of illegitimate persuasive techniques and is, therefore, a "dastardly type of journalism." To be fair, Merrill, on the subject of objectivity, takes great care to make distinctions, define terms, consider various positions; he offers a stimulating argument for the role of objectivity (carefully defined) in reporting. In addition, he makes effective use of selected quotes from Erich Fromm and William Stephenson.

Merrill is less successful in using quotes when his aim is to demolish Plato as a founder of authoritarianism by quoting from *The Open Society and its Enemies*. The short shrift given to Plato's *Republic* is hardly worthy of the complexity and subtlety of that work; nor, in fact, does it do justice to Karl Popper. Anyone who has read *The Open Society* knows how carefully Popper considered opposing points and developed a view of Plato that Popper himself admitted was unorthodox. The use of random quotes, out of context, is a potential fallacy in both philosophy and journalism. A philosopher, more interested in understanding a quote than in using it to support a contention, would be less likely to commit such a fault.

The *kinds* of philosophers mentioned in Part I and Part II are quite different. Odell's list is dominated by the mainstream of 20th-century philosophy and has a British flavor—Russell, Carnap, Moore, and Ayer to Austin and Urmson; in contrast, Merrill's list has a decidedly humanist drift—Jaspers, Popper, Fromm, even Ayn Rand. Incidentially, both authors tend to overlook the growing number of works by authors such as Tuchman, Schudson, Gans, and others who come from a social sciences rather than philosophy background but who provide often eloquent and illuminating insights into such concepts as objectivity.

For all of the differences between the two parts of *Philosophy and Journalism*, there is one aspect of presentation shared by both. Strangely enough, it is this common attribute that may present barriers to acceptance by journalists. Both Odell and Merrill seem attracted to the use of

philosophical terminology—what journalists, at least those in the tradition of H. L. Mencken, would call jargon. While it may be understandable for a philosopher such as Odell to use words such as "instantiation" for "example," there is little to be gained, other than unintended humor, from the following passage by Merrill:

> Regardless of how we might classify all the possible symbiotic relationships of government and media systems, a basic dichotomy always seems to emerge. It presents a simple aristotelian way of looking at differences, and in spite of its dualistic oversimplification and generalized structuring of reality, it is probably still the best way to consider either press theories or political theories (p. 153).

Odell and Merrill maintain that, to their knowledge, theirs is the first book to deal systematically with journalistic philosophy. And well it might be. It has the additional virtue of presenting, within one cover, a comparison of philosophic and journalistic exposition. However, the best *non-systematic* journalistic account of contemporary philosophy is, arguably, a book published over 20 years ago under the title *The Fly and The Fly Bottle: Encounters with British Intellectuals* (1962). There author Ved Mehta recounted his visits with British philosophers (as well as historians). It is a very different book from *Philosophy and Journalism*, which only suggests how widely varied the methods of journalism can be.

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The Diary of James C. Hagerty: Eisenhower in Mid-Course, 1954-1955. *Edited by Robert H. Ferrell.* Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1983. 288 pp. Cloth, $19.50.

One of the disappointments in studying the American presidency is that few holders of the office or their top associates ever kept diaries. Memoirs, letters, second-hand recollections, and, more recently, taped recordings are becoming more common. But daily or periodic observations and judgments made by intimate aides to the president are not as easily available. Fortunately for journalism historians and students of public opinion, former press secretary James C. Hagerty has provided some relief for this problem with a lucid, "mid-course" account of 14 months of the two-term presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Although it is fragmented and lacks any blockbuster revelations, the diary does provide intimate backstage glimpses of how both the former General and the ex-*New York Times* reporter faced a number of the major national and international issues of the halcyon mid-1950s: the incubation stages of Vietnam, the Congressional debate over the Bricker amendment, the release of the Yalta papers, and Quemoy and Matsu. As might be expected from a close and trusted confidant such as Hagerty, Eisenhower comes out looking more than just the nice war hero, father-figure president painted by some historians. In addition to this public face, Hagerty's diary reveals Eisenhower as a man of considerable depth, common sense, and pragmatism in dealing with politicians, legislators, and the press. The

diary serves as another support for the position of Fred L. Greenstein of Princeton ("The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader") that Ike had more than just good looks and "luck" going for him in the White House. In the view of the *Wall Street Journal*'s Vermont Royster, among recent presidents Ike "did the least damage" and "left behind the fewest problems for his predecessors [sic]."

Of particular interest to students of political science and public opinion are Hagerty's asides about his role as the president's go-between with the Senate and the contributions by both to the downfall of Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy. We learn the details of Eisenhower's ongoing effort to recast the Republican Party in a more liberal and progressive model and of Hagerty's skills as a former press secretary to New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey in appealing to conservatives in both parties as well as to the public.

A major tool through which Hagerty was able to achieve his public relations goals was by organizing the presidency for the advent of television. Although trained for print, Hagerty wasn't intimidated by the cameras and lights of the new media and exploited them to project the genial Ike image in the White House and in presidential elections. Partially because of this, Hagerty is generally considered to have been the most successful press secretary ever to serve a president of the United States. But the diary shows that Hagerty had a superior subject to work with, as Eisenhower was already highly skilled with the media from his experience as a wartime general, NATO leader, and president of Columbia University.

Hagerty's skills and Eisenhower's affinity with the evolving electronic media, destined to change the presidency, did not transfer to all of the Fourth Estate all of the time. The diary refers to flare-ups with NBC, the Washington *Post* and the *New York Times* ("straight New Deal in thinking and writing"), and all-time journalistic presidential baiter Drew Pearson. Following one column about the H-bomb, Eisenhower angrily said, "Maybe you have to talk to his men, but as far as I'm concerned, I wouldn't let him [Pearson] cover anybody in government, and if anyone was caught talking to him or his men, I'd fire them on the spot."

The diary also gives us some clue as to why Hagerty and Eisenhower vastly reduced the number of press conferences from the record-breaking precedents of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry Truman. Press conferences were really "a waste of time," Eisenhower said in February 1954. "All these reporters are interested in is some cheap political fight. It's too serious a time to have that sort of stuff as the major problems of our times. What a life." One month later after the "New Dealers" and "Fuzzy boys" came down on Ike, Hagerty wrote, "Nuts. All these people want is to have the President get down in the gutter with Joe [McCarthy]." An entry after a March 17, 1954 news conference underscores Eisenhower's concern about the lack of knowledge of reporters whose questions centered on the retaliation theory of defense and, of course, questions linked to McCarthy. "At president's briefing [Eisenhower] said he was going to 'give the boys a lecture on fundamentals. They just don't seem to understand military tactics as applied to the times of nuclear weapons.'"

On a more positive note, the diary shows Eisenhower's "amazement" that newsmen had respected his warnings that he would not talk about McCarthy in a June, 1954 news conference and had not raised any questions about the matter. When Hagerty informed the president that it was his press conference and he could lay down the ground rules, "He seemed a

little surprised but was also pleased."

Journalism historians should enjoy such anecdotes and insights as a former newsman coaches the most powerful man in the world. Readers will also appreciate the feeling of confidence and trust that existed between Hagerty and Eisenhower in an almost father-son relationship. This is something the public hasn't seen for a few years. Indeed, the public may never learn about such relationships unless other press secretaries have the foresight and time to keep a diary in the future.

Indiana University history professor Robert H. Ferrell, who boiled the diary down from 200,000 to 75,000 words, suggests that Hagerty started the record as part of a New Year's resolution. It is a resolution that other presidential press secretaries should also make.

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Jonathan Daniels and Race Relations: The Evolution of a Southern Liberal. *By Charles W. Eagles.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1982. 254 pp. Cloth, $24.50; paper, $11.95.

"Evolution" is a key word in this book about the racial attitudes of Jonathan Daniels, editor of the Raleigh, N.C. *News and Observer.* His moves toward the "liberal" label were cautious and slow. Although Daniels recognized that an editor has an obligation of leadership, he was careful not to get too far ahead of the thinking of his readers.

This caution evokes mixed emotions. On one hand, the reader will become disgusted that Daniels wanted to hold on to some vestige of segregation; on the other hand, one can glimpse Daniels' belief that he would lose his effectiveness if he marched too fast with his racial enlightenment. On balance, the reader—if he reminds himself of Daniels' time and place—will see that this editor did much to hasten an integrated South.

Daniels, who was born in 1902 and died in 1981, first edited the paper in the years 1933-42, when his father was ambassador to Mexico. After going to Washington to become assistant director of the Office of Civilian Defense, he carried out other chores for the Roosevelt administration, finally becoming FDR's press secretary. Upon the death in 1948 of Josephus Daniels, his father, Jonathan Daniels again took over as editor, a post he held until retirement in the mid-1960s.

The newspaper's constant stream of editorials, most of which were written by Daniels himself, advocated racial justice with a growing intensity. He also wrote books and magazine articles and became one of the country's best known journalists.

The author of this book, Charles W. Eagles, assistant professor of history at Vanderbilt University, is perceptive in reporting Daniels' evolution from racial paternalism to egalitariansim. Eagles used the editorial page of the *News and Observer* as a primary source but also employed interviews with Daniels and others. Eagles writes in a style that is almost journalistic in clarity. He has produced a valuable work for anyone who wants a better understanding of Southern society during several crucial decades.

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